

SPECTULUM BELLI LUCTU
OR THE
LOOKINGGLASSE
OF THE HOLY WAR,

Wherein is discovered :

{ *The Evill of War.*
 The Good of War.
 The Guide of War.

IN THE
LAST OF THESE I GIVE A
SCANTLING OF THE CHRISTIAN

Tackticks, from the levying of the Souldier, to the
founding of the Retire, together with a modell
of the carryage, both of Conquerour and con-
quered. I have applyed the generall
rules warranted by the Word, to
the particular necessity
of our present
times.

GALLAT. 6. 16.

As many as walk according to this rule peace be upon them.

DEVT. 29. 9.

*When the Host goeth against the enemies, then keep thee from every wicked
thing.*

I SAM. 17. 47.

*And all the Assembly shall know, that the Lord fighteth not with swords
for the battell is the Lords, and he will give you into our hands.*

Qui profertur de viribus suis antequam pugnet non est vir. Aug.

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TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE, FREDERICK KING OF Bohemia, Count Palatine of the Rhine, &c. As also to the most vertuous Lady ELIZABETH, Queen of Bohemia, and onely daughter to the great and mighty King of Great Britain.

TH E life of man (most illustrious Prince and Princeesse) is said by God himselfe to be full of trouble; yea, the Humanists term it (and that truly) rather a trouble then a life. This needeth no other prooffe then woefull experience through all the parts of mans life. The Poet pretily Emblemes our infancy with a ship-broken Marriner, cast naked, hurt, and helpelesse from the waues upon the shore, bewraying with woefull cries the rest of the passages answerable to the beginning. If the consideration hereof, made that great Philosopher Democritus weep continually; what heart of flesh, and eye of pittie, can from the promontorie of our present security, without a floud of teares, behold the wether-beaten Barke of Gods Church, over which (to use the phrase of the Psalmist) all the waues, and billows of the Lord doe passe; yea, one deep so calleth for another, that if God himselfe were not the Ararat to rest upon, it should be

Iob 14. 2.

ou Bi

αλιδας

Bi αλ

λα ευμ

Φορα.

Ve ievit

projecturab

undis jacet

infans in-

dignus om-

ni vitali

auxilio. La-

er. lib 6.

Diog. La-

er. lib 9, in

ita ipsius.

Ps. 42. 8.

THE EPISTLE

*Quorum
pars magna
fui.*

Ier. 9. 1.

Mal. 3. 14.

*Ps. 63. 4. 5.
6. 6.*

split in peeces upon the rockes of Shittim. A great part of this distresse, your Graces are: therefore for mine own part, I could wish with Ieremy, That my head were full of water, and mine eyes were a fountain of teares: In the Christall nature wherof, while I looked for the cause of this evill, that memorable passage of defeated Pompey, did offer it selfe to my meditation. An approved Author telleth us, that Pompey being defeated in the Pharsalick battell, as he fled to Egypt, hee took off the way to visit the Philosopher Cratippus, whom curiously he questioned, whether at all there were any divine Providence or Moderation of humane things or not. For his own part he could hardly be perswaded, that God regarded those sublunary things, because he had the worse in the better cause. The Philosopher answered, that there was a full period appointed to Kingdoms, beyond which they could not passe. The answer and the question now I passe, because I shall haue occasion in the Treatise further to explaine them. But may it please your Highnesse to obserue thus much, that if flesh and bloud, or meere philosophy, be guide in this inquisition, a good man may loose himselfe: for not onely doth the Atheist, from the adversity of the godly, and prosperity of the wicked; pre-remptonly conclude, that it is in vain to serue God; but even the Saints of God, forgetting their Logick, have stumbled upon the like Paralogism, Witnesse the Prophet David in that psalm, where he compareth the peace, plenty and prosperity of the wicked, with the adverse and contrary things which doe befall the people of God: Waters (saith he) of a full

DEDICATORIE.

full cup are wrung out to them. Where both the quality and quantity of affliction is laid open. Upon this the people of God are said to turn in, that is David and others, namely to the thoughts following, Is it thus with us? Hence they gather this false conclusion, How doth God know, &c. Surely in vain I haue cleansed my heart, &c. But this they doe in their phrensie, a symptom of the fever of their affliction, which David acknowledgeth with censuring of himselfe in the same psalm, v. 15. 21. 22. If your Majesties heart hath been leavened (for so the word doth signifie, v. 21.) with any such temptation; be not discouraged, there hath no temptation taken you but such as hath befallen the servants of God. Goe with David to the sanctuary, and there you shall see the cause of your affliction; and your enemies successe for a time, namely, to work, Your tryall, & their destruction. In the mean time (renowned Princes) the Lord biddeth you goe on; Speak unto the children of Israel that they goe forward. Ex 14. 15.

As we cease not to our power, to fill the golden censor with odors, that it may be filled againe with fire and cast upon the earth, (that is Gods and your enimies;) so I haue presumed (though the least of all) to present your Highnesse with a model or draught of the holy Warre indeed, with an earnest intreatie, not to faint or giue over till God giue the victory. Cicero de orator. Plin. in Hannib. π δει πτω

If an experienced Souldier shall censure this Frame as Hamball did Phormio, for his lecture of Militarie Discipline, with the livery of a fool; or as Archidamus did Perianander, who of a good Phisitian, made himselfe by his evill favored Verses an extreme evill Poet: let him obserue well πδου μεν.

THE EPISTLE, &c.

Well, and I hope bee shall finde no wrong offered to his Element. As for the meannesse of the Frame, your gracious acceptance, as a stately Roofe, shall cover all the deformitie. In great things it is enough to Will: as Princes are Gods, so in this they resemble him, to respect the good Will more then the work. If I can bring but Goats haire to couer the outside of the Tabernacle; or wield but a sling against the Goliath of Babylon, or bring but some odors to the Censor of your annoynted selues and yours, it shall comfort me, and happily encourage others to shew the way more fully, at the which I haue pointed. Whatsoever it is, I am bold to present it to your Highnesses joynt protection. You are together, the subject of calamity; yea, the But and pointe blanke whereat they aim: You are joyntly together prayed for, that the Lord would plant you, as bee hath plucked you up, and giue you double joy for your sorrow, and glory for your confusion: yea, that you may not onely be built up, but that you may joyntly build up Ierusalem, which is the praise of the world. In the mean time gracious Princes, possesse your soules in patience; For the patient wayting of the righteous shall not alwaies be forgotten.

Your Highnesses in
all humble duty.

A. L.

T O



TO THE
PRINCE HIS HIGHNES
CHARLES,

The Hope of great Brittain.

Most gracious Prince :

WHILST with mournful eye I often viewed
the deepe and long continued distresse of
your dearest sister, and of her royall Lord, it
gaue me occasion to inquire into the equitie
of their cause, which in all impartiall judgemēt
shal be found so just, that they and all that loue them may
appeale to God for the pleading of it: but perceiving the
successe not to answer the cause, and that some for want of
love and some for want of judgement, did judge the cause
by the events; I went, with David, into the sanctuary whence
I discovered the causes of their calamitie (notwithstan-
ding of the goodnesse of the cause) namely the all-wise God
to be the chiefe workman, who putteth every one into the
refining pot that he appoints for his treasurye, they and
theirs, and in them especially all the families of God to be
the gold; *AEgypt* or *Babilon* to be the fornace; the *Ama-*

lekiss

AN EPISTLE TO

le kits to be the fewell or fire-workemen; the *croaking frogges* to be the bellowes; and the purging and refining of his owne people to be the worke. Vpon this discovery betweene love and feare (yea out of more love then skill I must confesse) I undertooke the framing of this modell of the sacred War; wherein I handle at large the particulars of the said discovery as they doe occur in their proper places. Heerin brieflie, by way of application, I haue laid the particular passages of both sides to the generall rules illustrated by the fittest examples (that my reading would affoord me) that the regularitie or obliquitie of euery passage may appeare. I haue laid open (according to my small skill) the *pandemicall diseases* of warr, together with the remedies: by the way, I haue touched vpon domestick affaires: and in all this course I haue made the sacred word the *loadstone*, the *compasse*, and the *lesbian rule*, whereby to square and direct all the rest. This I presumed to dedicate to their Highnesses: because they are the speciall parties (as the Lord speaketh) *that haue seene affliction by the Rod of Gods wrath*: but considering how they and theirs, Gods cause in their hands, and whatsoever is commended to them, standeth need both of a *protector and revenger*; I was emboldened on the knees of my bounden duetie, and best affection, to intreat your grace that (according to your accustomed favour) you would vouchsafe to looke into this *looking-glasse*; and howsoever its vnpolished ruggednes may rather be discovered by your compleate skill & Heroick experience in Armes, then its abilitie to direct so Princely a *Director*; yet that *sure word* where

with

Lam. 3.

PRINCE HIS HIGHNES.

with this glasse is *steeled*, will both be light to leade you, and strength to make you victorious: and as a *Trumpet*, though a meane Officer, serveth to rouse the courage of the greatest Commander; so this shall rather give an Alarum to your Mar-
tiall spirit, the ad to your Highnes literature, courage or skill,
Gird on your sword then, Gracious Sir, *goe on in the Lord, and for the Lord, and prosper*. Our eies are fixed towards God, and then upon you, *in te unū oculi omniū conuersi*: you are the tree, from whose shade the Saints doe looke for shelter, & refresh-
ing, and which shall kill, by *Antipathye*, the Snakes of Babel.
If your Grace would giue me leaue I could lay downe many motives: as first, Gods honor in the dust; Religion at the stake; the healing of the beasts wound, and the setting of Dagon againe upon the stumps. Secondly, it was *Iosuahs* honor to deliver the craftie Gibionits (once become his con-
federates) from the five Kings, whom he put to the sword: what honor shall it be to you to vindicate from disgrace, and wrong a *paragon* of Princes, a *tryed Jewel* aboue the patience of her sex, an onely loving and a lovely Sister, a Prince persecu-
ted by the wicked, and deprived of all for the maintenance of the truth; a Princely issue, as deare and neare to you, as Lot was to *Abraham*: and lastlie, the people of God in an *Aegyptian* thraldome? Teares here are the best Orators.
I will say no more, but as the wife of *Intiphernes* said to *Darius* concerning her brother; *you can never haue another Sister*. Thirdly, that cruell and cursed crew that hunt for their soules, would deuoure you and yours, if opportunitie should
serue. Fourthly, it shal be your greatest honour to fight Gods

AN EPISTLE TO

battles, and who knoweth but that you are the man for whom God hath reserved that honor. *Charles* the great made Rome great; And may not a greater *Charles* raze Romes greatnes? Concerning the ruine of Rome which must be accomplished by your *Princelie* name, I commend to your Grace this prophesie;

Imperium, fastes; C. fastus sceptrum, triumphus,

Quae fuerant; penitus; C. veniente cadent.

Fifthly your late, & admirable deliverance out of the paw of the lyon, & out of the law of the Beare, requireth by course that you should encounter with *Goliath*. Sir, God thought on you, and on vs in you, when you thought not on your selfe; and blessed be God his name who hath made that principall good, *that the sonne of so many prayers could not perish*. Yea, wee may truely say to our comfort, *that you are found againe*. Lastly, your Princely resolution and irrevocable word, hath ingaged you to the service of *Sions* deliverance; if you should leaue *Sion* helplesse (which God forbid,) it were in a manner hopelesse. To inlarge these motives to your Grace, were but to bring the gleanings of the grapes to the vintage of your literature and policie; craving therefore pardon for my boldnesse of speech & bluntnesse of phrase, I lay my selfe, the subject, and my humble suite at the foote of your Highnesse censure.

Your Highnesse his most
humble devoted.

A. L.

*Non potuit
perire tanta
rum lacrimi-
marum filius.
Aug. conf.
Lib. 3. c. 12.
Tu non in-
venta reper-
ta es.*



TO THE
HONOURABLE
AND HIGH COURT OF
PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable, and most Worthy;

A*S many things fall in, between the end, and the putting of it in execution: So whilst I was in hand with this Treatise, by the providence of God, and his Majesties call, you were assembled in the Honourable and High Court of Parliament. Which Assembly we pray, may be like that assembly of David and his States in Hebron; where first they made a covenant before the Lord, and thereafter went to warre against the Iebusites, and then against the Philistims, and overcame them both. Strike your Covenant then with the Lord, and your warre shall surely prosper. For the discoverie of your Adversaries (which is a main principle of warre) you need not a Vox populi, you haue vivam vocem Principis: Onely this little Work, which I humbly commend unto your view, I wish may be, vox tubæ, to your martiall designs: a perspective it is, whose optic medium is the word of God,*

1 Sam. 3. 19

AN EPISTLE TO THE HIGH

Which will make you perfect to this, and every good work. As for order, I hope your Honours are advised to take a strict order with the enemies of your own House, that is, the Draconarie companies of English Romanists, whom I need not describe to you; for you know them by their colours; one-ly they may be noted by this brieife Description; They are the Popes Asses, the Devils Dromidaries, the Spaniards familiars, and the Iesuits Cabinat. Ere you goe to war, doe as Joshua did with the five Kings whom he couped up in a caue, that they should not make head with recollected forces. Shut up the Amorits, and roule the stone to the Caues mouth, and then feare not but you shall deal well enough with Amaleck. As David made sure the Jebusites that dwelt in the prime place of his Kingdom, before he went against the Philistims; doe you so with these Iebusites that dwell in the heart of your Countrey. David took in Metheg Amath, by which is meant Gath; the word signifieth, the bridle of Amath, or of the hilly Tract: For being the strength of the Philistims, David made it a bridle to them. So take in Gath; that is, the strong Fort of our home-Philistims, and it will be a bridle to our enemies abroad. The Princes of the Philistims would not trust David, but caused the King to send him back from the battell, lest he should betray them to his Master Saul: and should the Princes of Israel trust the Philistims, who haue devoted themselues to Babel, and their Countrey to their Cyrus (as they call him?) You are the Eyes and Armes of our Sovereign, the Body of the land, the Councell and Strength for warre, the Sword and Shield of

1. s. 10.

2 Sam. 5.

2 Sam. 8.

Cap. 29.

Gods

COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

Gods distressed cause, the Terroure of the Adversary, the rod for the wicked; the Sithe to mowe down sinne: and in a word the very Helm of the State: Then as you look to haue honour here, and glory hereafter, Stand fast, and quit your selues like men for God and your Country. As the Greek Ephori, the Roman Senators, and the States of Venice to this day, doe lay down themselves, and all private passions of fear, flattery, and the rest, before they enter the Senate house, Vt Reipub. seruiant; so you must be all the Common wealths, and none of your own. You had need of the Senatory ornaments, enumerated by Iethro, especially Wisedom and Courage: The greatest good, bath the greatest opposition. A Crown cannot be had without contending for it; you haue not onely the weale of Cæsars Crown, but of Christs Crown, to look to; a jealous care of the latter, is the safety of the former: for they who honour God, God will honour them. As the externall evils of the body (such as heat, cold and wounds) may well be prevented, and easily cured; but internall evils (as sicknesse, vlcers, and the like) are not commonly fore-seen nor easily cured; so the open enemies of State are quickly discovered, and easily opposed; but the mothes and cankers, ulcerous plagues, and beeticks, arising out of the State it selfe, are so hardly discovered till they be past cure, that they become the spoyle of policie, and opprobrie of States-men. Of those inward evils haue a speciall care, and keep close to your rules without slavish fear: And howsoever it fall out, it is greater cunning, and matter of more commendation in

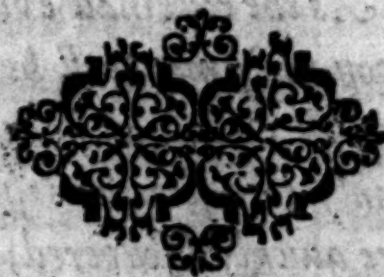
AN EPISTLE, &c.

the Physician to make a true use of his rules, then to cure
the Patient. A tediousnesse is not for such a presence, nor
weaknesse wortby to direct such a Senate, I depre-
cate what may be found amisse, and with this close I shue
up all; Do you what you should, and let God doe what
hee list.

Your Honours in all
possible service.

A. L.

T. O.





TO THE
TRVELT SINCERE
READER

IT is a common Apologie (*Indicions and Christian Reader*) that men are loath to write because so many write. It is true in deed that this is the first of the three main *remoraes* in way of writing: for there be too many bookes, either to no end, or to an evill end; the former blurreth paper, the latter blotteth the mind; the former cloyes, the latter corrupteth, like flies in hot weather. The other two lets are neglect of mens paines, & storming at the trueth: yet for al these, the abuse of a good thing or evill interaniment, must not stop the use of it. Yea, because so many speake (as the Philosopher saith) *I was ashamed to be silent*. Manie poysons must haue many antidotes. As the Popes shop, wanteth no sort of workmen; some to mine, and some to vndermine; some to cosen, some to cut; some to poyson, some to dispute, some to fight, and some to giue the Alarum: so with these souldierly *Ignatians*, or men-Serpents

αἰσχρὸν
σιῶσαι.

THE EPISTLE

pents treatise doth incounter; not teaching treacheries and
 treasons, or an *Equivocall* holy warre, but the true art of the
 holy warre indeed. Instances of such fiery and flying ser-
 pents wee haue had too many at home, as *Morton* for the
 Northerne rebellion, *Saunders* for Ireland; and to omit the
 treasons against the person of the Queene, by *Parrie*, *Balliard*,
Somerfield, *Watson*, *Lopes*, and the rest. Would not *Garnet* at one
 stroke haue cut the heads from vs all? These fellowes haue
 more cunning then *Archimedes*; they would move the whole
 earth, if they had but England to stand on. It is to be feared that
 they haue got too much footing, and that wee haue more
 Legions of those evil Spirits amongst vs then wee are aware
 of. *Paracelsus* telleth vs, when frogges heap together one upon
 another, it is a signe of a plague; so wee haue cause to feare those
 plaguy froggs, whose doctrine and practice sound nothing
 but treachery and Armes: witnesse *Shoppius* in his *Alarum*, &
 manie others of that graine. They tell us indeed that Eng-
 lands feare of them, is like that of *Alexanders* espiall, who
 discovering *Apes* imitating a march from the mountaines
 tooke them to be souldiers indeed. Apes they are, & indeed
 for counterfetting of *Christ*, for malice, mischeife, subtilitie
 against his flocke: the *Metempsychosis* well becommeth them,
 but they march from the mountaines of *Babel*, like
 souldiours; and it is to be feared, that with *Ælians* Ape
 they will kill our young ones in the cradle, if they be not lookt
 to. They mocke and disgrace the *Lyon*, whose onely cure
 and best securitie consisteth in their ruine. Against their
 Apish flatteries and overtures of peace, the law of not be-
 lieving,

*Classificum
belli sacri.*

*Moderat.
Answ:
Cap. 1.*

*Non non
sacientia.*

TO THE READER.

leaving is the best remedie: for an ape will ever be an ape. He that relieth upon the faith of the faithlesse papist, may one day, with woefull experience, say as *Bricidas* the *Lacedemonian* said, *I was wounded, my shield betraying me.* As for the matter, the generall subiect thereof hath been handled by divers; but in every particular as here, and with this Methode not by any that I read of. I haue made Gods word the ground and rule of my *System*. The application of the generall rules, exemplified to the particulars, is without partialitie. My freedom of speech (I hope) shall (as *Hierom* of *Sicil* said) be *unseasonable to no good man, be he never so great*: for I hate no mans person, no not the enemy, but his sin. Herein you may perceiue, as *Basil* said of *Historie*, the *vertues* of the good, and the *vices* of the wicked. Here from the cunning of the enemy, wee may picke some points of discipline; and from their finnes against us, we may learn to mend our own. As for the frame of the worke, if the Art cannot commend the matter, yet let the matter commend the Art. I haue endeavoured rather with simplicitie of phrase & aptnesse of dictio (as becommeth the subiect) to expresse the truth, then to adorn with colours. As with *Hierom*, every mans writings deceiveth himselfe: and as *Galen*, It is hard for a man not to erre; so I say with *Austin* (concerning his books) what good thou shalt find, let it be thine, & mine in affection: but whatsoever is amisse, let it neither be thine nor mine in protection, but rather in correction, which I shall willingly beare. I know I shall not please all (neyther would I) yet I hope I shal profit some. The censure, of the malevolent *Momus*, & envious *Zoilus* without, I weigh not: for it is enough to me

Simia semper erit simia.

Prodente me elypio, vulneratus sum.

καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐχθρὸς μέγας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνέχεται.

Non quemque sua scripta fallunt.

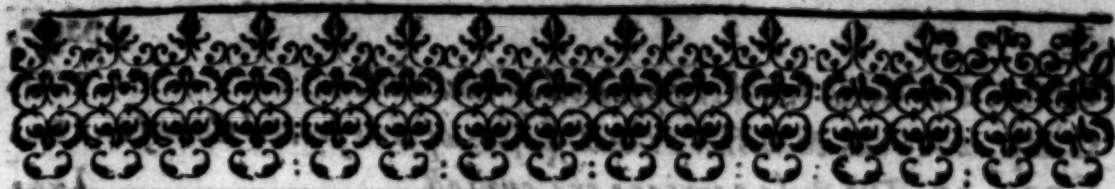
THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

Hoffe apud me, & in meo penetrali reperire. Lips. de Const.

to satisfie conscience if not calumnie; If within I shall meete with a *Phalaris*, I shall with *Langius* be content with my lot to haue a *bosome enemy*: but till I haue prooffe I will neyther preiudge nor feare. And since my aime is neyther lucre nor applause, but the good of Gods Church; if I be not well taken, my good intent shall make good my private losse; the favourable acceptance of this, may encourage me to take paines in subiects of the like nature. If any be disposed to quirke me for making so many gates to so poore an edifice; let the necessitie of *action*, and the opportunitie of *occasion* excuse me: and had it not been to shun tediousnes, I could out of this subiect haue made a large quarter to every gate. Let the largeness of the subiect, and varietie of aspect excuse my prolixitie, and leade you along to reade without wearying: adventure but your patience, as I haue done my paines; and I doubt not but you shall find the *last wine the best*. But without further Apologie I leave it to your liking, and your liking to Gods disposing.

Thine in all loue

A. L.



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CHAP.



Speculum belli Sacri:

OR THE LOOKING GLASSE OF THE HOLY WARRE.

CHAPTER I.

The Evill of Warre.

A Certaine *Theſſalian* being demanded who were at moſt eaſe, answered *they who ceaſed* οἱ παύοντες *from Warre.* True it is indeed: for war is μένος *the fruit of ſin, the wages of ſin, and the cauſe* ληΐσμός *of ſin; yea evē on the one part it is ſin it ſelfe.* Warre is the fruit of ſin. *All theſe are evident from the Scriptures. The* Gen. 4.
fiſt from that fiſt war betwixt the two Bretheren Cain & Abel, wherein Cain killed Abel; the ground whereof was his wrath; *from whence are warres (ſaith S. Iames) and contentions* Jam. 4. 1.
among you, are they not hence even of your owne luſtes, that fight in your members? Had there never been ſin in the world, wee ſhould haue had no war; for by ſin wee made war with God, and God, and all the Creatures at war with us: which war continueth betweene God and all thoſe that are not reconciled to him in *Chriſt Ieſus.* It is with all thoſe as it was with *Amalecke,* with whom the Lord ſware that he would Ex. 17. 16.
haue warre from one generation to another: Yea, there is no peace Eſa. 57. 27.
to the wicked ſaith my God, neither externall, internall or eternall;

Ps. 140. 1. 2

Rev. 20.
8. 9.Warre the
wages of
sin.

Lev. 26. 25

naill; neyther at peace with God, with others, nor with themselves. Amongst the evil qualities of the wicked man, this is reckoned as the chiefe, *that he is prone to war, Release thou me Iehovah from the evill man, from the man of wrong &c. Every day they gather warres.* Yea in this the wicked man discovers the image of his father the devill, who being let loose after the thousand yeares expired, goeth out to deceiue the people, and to gather them together to battell.

And for the second, that it is the wages of sin, and that the speciall; it is as cleare as the first, from plaine places of Scripture, from Gods order in his proceeding, and *Dauids* avoyding of this, when God gave him his choyce of the punishment. For the first, the Lord threatning to harden himselfe against his people in punishment, as they had hardened themselves against him in sin, saith thus: *I will bring upon you a sword that shall avenge the quarrell or vengeance of my covenant.*

It appeareth also in the order of Gods proceeding, by comparing of places of Scripture together, as the first and second Chap. of the prophesie of Iael. The Lord having plagued his people with famine, by the which they were not moved to repentance; he comandeth the Trumpet of war to be sounded, & telleth them that he would bring a fierce and cruell people against them, whose mercilesse & monstons tyranny he compareth to the devouring of fire; and for the fiercenesse of their consuming wrath, he calleth that plague, *The day of the Lord, a day of darkenes, a day of blacknes.* Thirdly, and lastly, *David* delivereth thus much in choosing rather the plague, then the prevayling hand of the enemye.

Warre the
cause of
sin.

*Rara fides
pietasque
divis qui
castra se-
quuntur.*
Lucan.

3. Warre is likewise the cause of much sin, as pregnant testimonies, and woefull experience teacheth. The proverbe is as true as common,

That faith and pietie are rare in armes.

Wee may iustlie now with *Erasm*: that great Maister in Arts take up the complaint made by him of his time. *Weo*

war.

“war continually, Nation against Nation, Kingdom against
 “Kingdom, Citie against Citie, Prince against Prince, Peo-
 “ple against People; friend against friend, kinsman against
 “kinsmā, brother against brother, yea, son against the father,
 “which the very Heathen held impious and barbarous: yea,
 “that which is most detestable of all; Christian against
 “Christian: and yet there be (saith he) that commend and
 “applaud this hellish practise for a holy course, instigating
 “the inflamed fury of Princes by adding oile to the flame
 “(as they say) till all be consumed. And what is come of
 this? I may answer, What evill is not come of it? I may
 justly apply that of *Aristophanes*, which *Lypsius* applyeth to
 the troubles of his time.

That God, the heaven and earth hath set on fire.

In war, renown, honor, wealth, chastity, life, wiues and
 children; yea, and religion it selfe, lyeth at the stake: no-
 thing so sacred; no sex so tender, no age so impotent, which
 the barbarous souldier will not contaminate, defloure and
 kill. It is the souldiers sport, as one saith truly, *to ruin hon-
 ses, to ravish Virgins, to spoil Churches, to consume Cities and
 Towns to ashes with fire: yea, these be the ornaments of war; to
 profit none, to hurt every one, to respect neither sex nor age;*
 yea, nor God himselfe; for his, in warr, are neglected, and
 the lawes of peace and war contemned.

All lawes in Armes are silent by the sword.

The world for the prooffe of this affoords a world
 of woefull experience, both from sacred and profane
 Writ. To omit the examples of ages past, let us
 view, with compassion, the instances of our own times:
 and as God usually doth commemorate his latest mercies to
 leade men to repentance, and his latest judgements to ter-
 rifie men from their sinnes; so let us look upon the latest
 warres in France, Bohemia, and the Palatinate. Is it not
 with Gods people every where, as it was with them in *Asa*
 his time; *There is no peace to him that goeth out or commeth in;*

τα δὲ ὅτι

περὶ τὰς

νεκρῶν

δύο καὶ

ὅτι ὅτι

βραβύτιον.

locus &

ludus in

militia &c.

Ludo. viber

in epist. ad

Henr. 8.

Angl. reg.

Silent leges

inter arma.

2 Chron.
15. 6 7.

but great vexations are upon all the inhabitants of the Countries,
and Nation is destroyed of Nation.

Et quanquā
animus me-
minisse hor-
ret.

Phil. 2. 1.

And though my heart doth quake while I remember:

Yet to use the words of the Apostle; If there be any consolati-
on in Christ, any comfort of love, any fellowship of the spirit,
any compassion and mercie; behold all you that passe by, your
mournfull sisters Bohemia, and the Palatinate, with their
torn hair about their eyes, their vail taken away, their crown
fallen, their sanctuaries defaced, their people slain, their
land laid wast; yong, old, Priest, and people, exposed to
the immane and bloody cruelty, the beastly filthinesse,
and Ismaelitish mockerie of the cruell enemy. In a word,
was there ever sorrows like to theirs? Yea, I may safely say,
the old Threns of Ieremy hath got a new subject. And what
is the immediat cause of all this evill of sin and punishment?

Qu bellum
causa mala-
rum.

αυδραγ

γαρ σω-

Φρονω

65/12.

Even bloody warre, thou art the cause of all.

It is the part therfore of wise men (saith one) if they be not
the more provoked, to be quiet; yea, of good men, if they be pro-
voked, to change peace into warre: but so that they change war
again into peace with all possible conveniencie. Men dis-
posed to unnecessary warre, are compared by some vnto
two Gamsters, whereof the one is undone, and the other
is never a whit the richer; for all the gain is in the box. Com-
pared also they may be fitly to the Elephant, and the Dra-
gon, which in their cruel conflict are each killed by other.

Plin. l. 8. 2.

Plin. l. 8. c.
12.

The Dragon (as it is written) sucketh out the bloud of the
Elephant, and being drunke therewith, the weight of the
falling Elephant oppresseth the Dragon, and crusheth out
the bloud, which some calleth (but falsly) *sanguis Draconis*;
but they both perish. And so it often falleth out with the
unadvised undertakers of warr. Vpon this ensuing evill, the
wise and learned haue taken occasion to check the humors
of Princes so disposed: as Lodovic. Vives to Pope Adrian; and
in his epistle to Henry the 8, King of England; there his mo-
tiues and counsels against unnecessary warre, are to be seen

at large. The proverbe is true indeed, *That warre is very sweet to those that never tasted it*; but those that taste it shall be forced to confesse, that *there is poyson under the honey*. This *Hannibal* (the honour of Carthage) knew very well, when the Roman Embassadors came from Rome to treat of the continuance of peace; one *Gisco*, as great a coward as a vain-glorious bragger, without either the practick or true theoricke of Arms, getteth him up in a pulpit, and taketh upon him to perswade the Carthaginians to giue up with the Romans, and to renew their warre; *Hannibal* perceiving the foole to be out of his element, pulled him out of the Pulpit, and went up himselfe, where he perswaded the people, with impregnable reasons, to continue their peace, and so prevailed. He knew, by experience, it was not so easie to manage warre, as to talk of warre, and therefore blessed are the peace-makers, who make such peace indeed as standeth with Gods honor and the publique good: otherwise, as authors averre, and experience teacheth, *A just war is to be preferred to an unjust peace: Melchizedech was King of peace and King of righteousness. Peace and righteousness kisse each other. No man can enjoy (saith Austin) the one without the other. Sauls making peace with Agag brake his peace for ever with God; therefore one said well, That warre is better that maketh a man nesrer to God, then that peace that separateth him from God.*

Now for the last thing; that warre it selfe unlawfully undertaken is sin, it appeareth from that quarrell that God for ever had with the Amalakites, who were the first that made war with the people of God, when they took their journey. It appeareth likewise from the ground of vvar, vvhich is alwaies naught (at least, either on the invaders part, or on the defendors) arising as one observeth well, from *malice*, or *injustice*, &c; and so, by consequence, it is either on the one part, or the other, from the instigation of the devill; because of all those evils of warr, the ancient Latines derived

γλυκύ δὲ
πικρὸν
ἐκ ἀπει-
ροῦ.
Sub melle
venenans
est.

Austin in
Psal 42.

Melior est
illa pugna-
que Deo
proximum
facit, quam
pax illa quæ
separat a
Deo.

Nazianz.
in Apol.
Warr, how
it is sin.

*Bellum a
bellum dic-
tum quide
volunt.*

the name of vvar from an unruly beast, as becomming beasts better then men : and therefore, as farre as is possible, it is to be avoided.

CHAP. II.

Of the good of War.

Notwithstanding of all this, that hath been said of war; yet Warre vvell undertaken is not onely lawfull but also necessary : and that upon a two-fold ground, either upon the law of Nature and Nations, not repugnant to the Law of God, undertaken for the defence of our selues or confederates; and this is called a Defensiuē War; such was that of the Israelites against the Amalakites. Or it is grounded upon the absolute command of God, for the revenging him upon his enemies, or the delivery of his friends : as

*Numb. 31. Moses is commanded to take vengeance of the Midianites; yea,
Deut. 25. to remember Amaleck, and not to forget him, but to raze out
17. 18. his remembrance. By the same warrant did Abraham reskue
Gen. 14. v. his nephew Lot, from the foure Kings. The like warrant
14. 20. and vwatch-word is given to vvarr against the Whore
Rev. 19. 17 and her confederates. I saw an Angell stand in the Sunne, who
cried with a loud voyce, saying, &c; So that War, both defen-
siue and offensiue (the due circumstances thereof observed)
is lawfull.*

*The law-
fulnesse of
warre a-
gainst the
Anabap-
tists.*

23.

Numb. 31.

Iud. 1. 2-6.

The reasons thereof be many, which I the rather presse, for that frantick and groundlesse conceit of the Anabaptist, holding it altogether unlawfull for Christians to make warre. First wee haue (as I haue shewed) Gods commandment for it, as wee may see in the places quoted. Which commandment is not onely peculiar to that time and people, but it belongeth to all upon the like occasions. Secondly, God hath

hath set downe lawes of war. Thirdly, God is called the God of warre as well as of peace. *Iehovah is a man of war*, that is an excellent warriour. Fourthly, the practice of the Saintes approved by God, as of *Abraham, David, &c.* Yea *Iohn Baptist* in correcting of the abuses of the calling, did not ex-
 shire the calling, but rather approved it. *Austin*, wel obser-
 veth, that if *Christian discipline* had condemned all *Armes*, then *Iohn* had given the souldiers counsel to cast away their *Armes*. The good *Centurion* goeth on in his calling; and the devout souldier is a souldier still. *Sergius Paulus*, a prudent man, heard the word and beleevved, yet still remained *Deputie*. Yea, warre is lawfull by the law of nature and nations, because it is, as one saith, a worke of righteousness, defending the good and offending the bad: Therefore not abrogated by the gospel. Yea, they who omit this worke of righteousness upon good ground, are called *homicides of themselves*, and *paricides of the Church*, & common wealth. As for the objections of the *Anabaptistes*, it is more time to fight then to answer them. The places of Scripture by them wrested; *resist not evil*. And when any smite thee on the one cheeke turne the other also, and such like, may be answered thus; that rather then private men should revenge their owne private wrong, they should suffer wrong; especially, if it make for the glory of God, or gayning of their brother. As for Christs leaving of his peace with his, and the accomplishing of that prophesie, they shall break their swordes into mattockes, and their speares into sithes; I answer as the prophesie is true and truely accomplished, yet but in part, and not so fully accomplished as it shalbe; it is likewise true, that *Christian Princes* should labor for such peace as is both prophesied of, and partly accomplished; and so should all men labor both for the internall and externall peace spoken off: But wee must understand with whom wee live in this world, with men of strife, men of blouds having *Dragons hearts*, *Serpents heades*, *Bloudy coulors* with that cruell Motto of the wicked man, spoken of by
 Homer,

Num. 1. 27
 & 10. 13.
 chap. 13. 20
 Deut. 20.
 Gen. 14.
 14. 2.
 1. Sam. 23.
 Luke 3. 4.
 St. Christi-
 ana discipli-
 na omnia
 bella dam-
 naret, hoc
 potius con-
 cilium, &c.
 ut arma
 abijcerent.
 Aug. Ep. 5.
 ad Mar. 11.
 Act. 10. 13
 Quis opus
 est justicie
 defenden-
 tis pios, &
 offendentis
 impios.
 Homicide
 sunt ipsi
 & paricide
 sunt Eccl-
 sia.
 Esa. 2. 4
 πολέμοι
 εἰρηνοῖ
 κρυοῦτες
 a Iliad.

Homer, deadly warre delights him. Such is that incarnate divell in the Revelation, called the *red Dragon*; by which is meant *Rev. 12. 3.* *bloudy Rome*, in her persecuting Emperours, deciphered there by her *Armies*. Of as deepe a dye is that bloudy whore in the armes of her last lover the Pope; for the which shee is called *the scarlet whore*, which is not onely bathed in the blood, *Rev. 17. 4. & 16.* but is drunke with the blood of the Saints. Such is the nature of all the devills limmes and bratts of the whore, they *Nil nisi bella crepant.* thinke of nothing but war; *They sound nothing but warr*: and shall the Saints that be slaine, and the soules under the altar cry still for revenge, and Christian Kings and Princes keepe their hands in their bosome? Surely this is to bring blood upon their heads, and to sin both against the Law and the Gospell. It is not a sin (as *Austin* saith) to war, but to abuse it. *August. de Doe not thinke* (saith the same Father) *that a man cannot please* God in warre, for David was a warrior, and God gave to him a great testimonie. The force of war (saith *Ambrosius*) that maintaineth the country against bloudy and barbarous enemies; defendeth the weake, and such as are subiect to oppression; delivereth the confederates that are in danger, from the hand of the bloud-thirstie, is full of righteousness. There be but two wayes, saith *Tully*, to decide matters, eyther by dispute or armes, and men must haue recourse to the latter when there is no place for the former. *Thucidides*, like a wise man, pressing all mē to keepe the peace, secludes not the lawfulness of war, if necessitie inforce it. Good men (saith he, if necessitie inforce them change peace into war.

To conclude this point; the Apostle willeth us to haue peace with all men, but if it be possible: where the Apostle implyeth, that it is impossible to haue peace with some. Yea, while the godly speake of peace, their enemies prepare for war. Therefore wee must doe, as the Apostles were commanded in another kind; *Sell our coates and by swords.* Or as *Nehemiah*, in the same kind, encouraged the people: *Fight for your brethren, your sonnes and your daughters, your wives* with

and your houses; yea, it standeth us upon it to doe the worke with
the one hand and with the other hold the sword.

CHAP. III.

Of the Guide of Warre.

THus having shewed the incommodities of war, and the
equitie of it, I come to the third & last point of the trea-
tise, namely, *the ordering of warre*. This is the main point
for the clearing whereof, I haue with as much brevitie as I
could, handled the former two. Here againe to Apologize
my want of skill, and to deprecate censure, were to be iealous
of the readers good will, and to detract from my highest pa-
tronage. To come then to the point.

In every warre there be two things especially to be ob-
served. That it be *Iustum & Iuste*; just in it selfe, that is, iustly
vndertaken; and it must be iustly, and duely followed. For
the first, we must first know what a iust war is, wich may be
thus defined: *That which is vndertaken, for a iust cause, by a com-
petent person, in place of Magistracie, in a lawfull manner, against an
externall or internall enemye; following it orderly by the law of na-
ture and nations, having for the end Gods glory and our owne
peace:* to the same effect as diuines tell vs; to a iust and law-
full war three thinges are required; A good cause, a well or-
dered affection, and a lawfull authoritie; Or if yow wil, for
the better ordering of war by its proper lawes, let vs observe
three sorts of *polemick lawes*; some concerneth the prepa-
ration, some the battle it selfe, and some the sequele or the
event. Some parts of the description appertaine to the first
lawes, some to the second, and some to third. To come in
order to the first, there must be a iust cause, which may brief-
ly be exprest, under the maintenance of religion, or civill

The de-
scription
of a iust
war.

The iust
cause of
war.

right, eyther for our selves, or our Christian confederates. Thus was the warre of the *Israelites* against the *Amalekites*, *Exod. 17*: So against the *Midianites*, *Numb. 25. 17. & 18*. For they had hurt them both in their bodies and in their soules. A like good ground had *Abraham* for his war against the four Kings, namely, the rescuing of his nephew *Lot*, out of the hands of merciless & bloody enemies. It is true indeed that *Lot* had no good ground for being there, neyther is it thought, that the King of *Elam* wanted iust cause to come against *Sodome*, to repress rebellis; but howsoever they had nothing to doe with *Lot*, by whom they were not wronged; and this gaue *Abraham* iust cause without further expostulation of *Lots* oversight, to adventure his owne life, and the life of his, for the delivery of his friend. And indeed as the cause was iust, he did but what he should haue done; yea, if he had not done it, it had been both sin and shame to him. *Wilt thou not* (saith the Wise man) *preserue those that* *Prob. 24. 11* *are led to be slaine?* In the war injoynd by God to his people against the nations, and in other warrs permitted occasionally, they were alwayes to looke to the equitie of the cause; as the main ground whereupon they were to go. For God himselfe injoyneeth nothing without a good ground. The *Romanes*, who had onely the light of nature to guide them, in their proceedings had alwayes respect to the ground of their vvar, before they vvould undertake it. Amongst many instances observe these two. The *Campani* who vv ere nieghbours to the *Romanes*, being invaded by the *Samnites*, a mightie people, desired ayd against them, pressing them vvith many forcible arguments; as from the lavv of proximitie or neieghbour-hood, of affinitie, of ensuyng commoditie, and finally from the *Romans* generous disposition: but all these allegations not affording a sufficient ground, this vv as all the *Romanes* did for the present, they sent Embassadors to the *Samnites*, desiring them to cease from vvar against their neieghbours, vv hich the *Campanian* deputies knowing to be

lost labor, they yeild themselves up as the right of the Romans, with this speech; *If you thinke much to defend vs from the unjust invasion of a Tyrannous enemy, yet defend that which is your owne.* Upon this voluntarie dedition, the Senat undertooke the defence of them, having a just title for the ground of the vvarre.

*Tit. Liv. li.
7. Decad.*

Another instance offers it selfe, in that dispute between the wisest man and the best man in Rome; namely, *Cato* and *Scipio Nafica*. Because the Carthaginians began to rig ships contrary to the articles of peace; it was the judgement of *Cato* and others, that warre should be denounced out of hand; but *Scipio* was of another mind, because he thought it was no sufficient ground for warre; for they had yet sustained no damage, but the Carthaginians had rather indammaged themselves; in violating their faith; they should rather be summoned to lay down their Armes, to unracke their Ships, and so to keep the peace. *Scipio* his judgment was approved, but the Carthaginians contemned the summons; Whereupon the Senare, and that upon just ground, agreed all in one to take up Armes against them. Other memorable examples are extant to this purpose: *Charles* the 8, of France, a yong King, being instigated to take Arms against *Francis* Duke of Brittain, and so lay hold upon the Dutchy as his right: the Chancellour of Rochel told the King, that the right pretended was not well deecided; and that he should not doe well to attempt war but upon a good ground. Upon this Embassadours were sent to the Duke, and on both sides it was referred to learned Counsell, to search out the right: In the mean while the Duke dyed, the King had the heire to wife, and so the controversie was ended. The like course the same King took for resolution of his right to Naples and Cicily; before he would attempt any thing, he convoked all the Presidents of his Parliamentary Courts; his Chauncellors, privy Councill, and Princes of the blood, willing them to inform him truly. Where, up-

*Annal. in
Ann. 1488*

*Annal.
Ann. 1488*

Annal. in on due search of the Genealogies of the Kings of the afore-
An. 1493. said Kingdoms, they found the true title to be in him. So
 that upon this ground, he carryed his forces into Italie; not
 that he meant to intrude upon Italie (as *Matshivel* would
 foolishly charge upon him, bringing this his attempt as an
 instance of a just vvar, vvithout any truth of title at all)
 but he meant nothing lesse: for in sayng out a good
 ground for Cicilie and Naples, he never pretended any right
 to Italie, onely hee assured himselfe of some Towns for
 his safer passage, which hee minded to giue up at his de-
 parture.

*Applica-
 tion.*

The equi-
 ty of the
 Bohemian
 warre on
 the Kings
 part.

To come to a present instance; The equitie of the cause
 is an undenyable good ground for the Bohemian war, un-
 dertaken by his Highnesse *Frederick* King of Bohemia. Hapi-
 ly some scoffing *Ismaelites*, and the *rayling crew*, may flout
 and make mouthes at the Title, because hee is abandoned
 the possession of that, and all other his right: but howsoever,
 truth is truth in despite of the devill, and the Lord vvill up
 one day and restore him to his right. As for the equity of
 the vvar, it will appear to the view of every indifferent eye,
 in these two particulars; First, on his part it was meerly
 Defensiuē; secondly, it vvas undertaken for the maintenance
 of Civill right, and true Religion. If vvar be not just un-
 dertaken upon these grounds, I know not any vvar at all to
 be just.

For the former of these two; that the Crown and King-
 dom of *Bohemia*, is his Right, it is as cleere to every impar-
 tiall minded man, as the Sun-shine at noon day, and that up-
 on these grounds: First, it was freely offered unto him,
 when he did not so much as think upon it. Secondly, it is
 cleer, from the state and condition of their Kings and
 Dukes, vvhich from the very first beginning of their state
 to this present time, hath been meerly electiue; witnesse
 their uninterrupted practise of free election, recorded by the
 unanimous consent of all that ever undertook their Histo-
 ries;

*Dubrav.
 Aene. Silv.
 Haecius.*

ries; together with the testimonies of Kings and Emperours; and lastly, the reverfall letters of all the Emperours even to this present *Ferdinand*, will witnesse the same. One pregnant instance for all, recorded by *Dubravins* and *Hajecius*, Lib. 30.
Hajec. fol.
167. when *Anno* 1458, some seven or eight Competitors, and that no small ones, as the Emperour himselfe, and the King of France put in for the Kingdom. The States to manifest and to maintain, their undoubted, and indisputable free right of election, made choice of *Georgius Podiebrachius*. So that you see, without any respect to treatie or intreatie, or any motion of disposall upon pretence of hereditary right, that State stood ever fast in their free liberty of election. They that will be further satisfied, may see this truth from point to point discovered, and confirmed in the defence of the Bohemian right, with a full answer to one that calleth himselfe the *Informier*, who indeed is rather a *mis-informer*, and of lesse truth and honestie then the basest sharking Promooter. For as I doe not think but he hath perused their Lawes and read their Histories; so against the renour of the one, and the truth of the other, hee hath laboured to his shame, by shifring and shuffling, to withhold the truth in unrighteousnesse: but if the light in him and others be darknesse, how great is the darknesse? His onely overture is, that foisted in clause of *Charles* the 4, to procure and confirm to his posterity hereditary succession. This is fully answered in the related answer. Doth it stand vvith reason that a King Elective, shall of his own head insert a new clause; to the subversion of the fundamentall Lavves of the State vvherein he is elected? Besides this, *No man is a sufficient witnesse in his own cause*: Yea, the same *Charles* in another priviledge, bearing the date of the same day and year, sheweth the approving of the free election of *Wenceslaus* by *Frederick* King of the Romans; so if the clause be his, he is contrary to himselfe. As for the right of pre-election of *Ferdinand*; novv Emperour (as the said answer

sufficiently proveth,) it was none at all. First, he deprived himselfe of all right or title to that Kingdom, by rejecting and contemning the right elective, and striving to possess it by hereditary right, (as the adopted son of *Matthias*,) or by some other right of blood. And that this came not barely of himselfe, but was the plot of the whole Imperial faction, is as cleer as the light, in the particular instruments of the pactions and conditions betwixt *Phillip* the 3, King of Spain, and *Ferdinand* Archduke of Austria, *Mathew* the Emperour, procuring and confirming the same. The summe of all which is this; that upon certain conditions amongst themselves agreed upon, the hereditarie right of Bohemia, and Hungary, should passe from one to another upon the fayling of issues. Where observe that all right of election, and by consequence all right indeed, is quitted by the Emperour; but because *great is the strength of truth*, when hereditary right would not hold water, they pretended the right of election. A bare pretence indeed, if it be duely examined. First, it was done the King being alive, and still King, and therefore of no validity: for in every Election two things are required; a *vacant state*, and *la^o full Electors*, the former must precede the latter; both these, in this pretended election, was wanting: for the full right was by reservation in *Matthias*, with a joynt inhibition, that *Ferdinand* should not meddle with the government, and that upon the challenge of intrusion; which notwithstanding he laboured to infringe against law and promise, and by vexation of Armes endeavoured to turn an elective power into an hereditary right; yea, and that before he was actually possessed, which made his election voide if it had been lawfull; for elections being conditionall, the conditions broke, the election is no election. As for the Electors, besides their want of power, the place being full, as they wronged themselves, so they wrong all those that had any interest therein. If the same grounds be well sifted, his title

to the Empire and Hungary, will proue but a broken title. This I was forced to cleer, as briefly as I could, that the right of King *Frederick* might be the clearer; which being laid in the ballance of equity with the former pretended right, shall shew it selfe of a just weight, which the other vvents.

First, the place was orderly quitted of all lawfull challenge. Secodly, he vvas called vvithout seeking or intruding. Thirdly, he had an orderly unanimous and plenarie election, all vvhich, as I haue shewved, vv ere vv anting in the former. Neither did ever the said king infringe any of their liberties. This being as you see his undoubted right, stood it eyther vvith equitie or pierie, not to maintaine it? Compare his right and maintenance of the same, vvith the examples quoted, of the Campani, & the Romanes, and out of them you shall see, as from the *minor* to the *maior*, that his cause & action is as just as may be. First the Campani vv ere a free people, to make choyse at their pleasure of their Head and Governor; so vv ere the Bohemians, and ever, haue been since their first being. Witnes all the Histories of Bohemia, Hungaria, Polonia; the Annalls of Cilecia, and the examples & monuments of the Bohemians. To the vv hich I may add, for the better cleering of the point, that Embassye of *Charles* the seventh of France to the Bohemians, after the death of *Ladislaus*, to vv hom he had contracted his daughter, vv herein he requested them, eyther to chuse one of his sons for their King, or such a one, on vv hom he might bestow his daughter. Secondly, they vv ere unjustly invaded by a mightie people the Samnites; so did the Bohemians suffer much from the hovvse of Austria, and no litle by the present Emperour. Thirdly, they sought aide from the Romanes, vv ho would not, but on just ground, undertake the vvarre, and therefore they became their subiects, and so they vnderooke it; so the Bohemians made suit to the Prince *Elect*or, in their feare of cruell dealing, that he vv ould become their King, and take the maintenance of their iust cause, which

Aeneas Silvius in hist. Bohem.

*In Nevio
licet quod in
Gaius non
licet.*

which he did, and that lawfully; not undertaking any thing for them directly, or indirectly before he vvas their King. Compare these together, and except that we wil say, that it is lawfull in *Nevius*, which is not lawfull in *Gaius*, or a heathen Senate may doe for their subiects, vvhata Christian King may not doe for his, I see not whye the one in him, is not as lawfull, or more lawfull, then the other was in them. But to conclude this point, If his successe of possession had seconded his right of election, a great many of our English Imperialists & other drowsy *Sybarits*, would never haue torne his title, nor exclaimed on his practise, as they now doe. To them for the present, I will say no more, but to iudge actions by events, & right of titles by present possession, is, in these evill & dangerous dayes, rather to approve of tyrannous intruders (both in church & commō wealth) then of the true owners.

As for the latter point of the ground, namely truth of religion, the defence whereof he undertooke, It is the trueth and none but it, against which the *gates of hell, the dragon, beast and false Prophet, the croaking frogges and all the drunken Princes of the earth, with the cup of the Whore* (doe what they can) shall never be able to prevayle.

*The iniquitie of
our enemies war.*

As hitherto then appeareth the equitie of the warre on the Kings part, so likewise, from the want of this ground, is laid open to the view, the iniquitie of all the warres, vnderaken by the enemies of God against his people: as the warres of Gog and Magog, and of the heathen Emperours, made upon Gods inheritance. What ground had the great red Dragon for making warre against the woman, and to stand before her to devour the man child when it was brought forth? As for the greatnes of this persecution by the Roman Emperours, and for the bloody crueltie of it, it may justly be called a *wonder*; so not vnfitlie may it so be called, because there was no cause given them by those whom they persecuted, but rather by their quiet and holy behaviour they deserved to live in peace. So the Psalmist speaketh of the rage of

of the wicked against Christ & his Church. *Why doe the people tumultuously rage?* Where David marveileth at the tumultuous hurling together of the wicked, as if they would devoure the godly (as they would indeed). What ground had the *scarlet whore* to bathe her leprous carcasfe in the bloud of the Saints? Where observe likewise, that it is called a *great wonder*. What equitie was there that the Popes *unholinesse*, under a pretence of the enlargement of *Peters* patrimony, took armes against Kings and Emperours, as *Iulius* the second against *Lewes* the twelfth of France? Yea he gave battel on Easter day against the French at Ravenna. *Innocent* the second against *Roger* king of Sicilie. What ground of stirring up one Prince against another, & giving of Kingdoms from hand to hand? the French against the English, as *Lewis* against King *John*; by *Innocent* the third, the English against the French, as *Rich:* of England an *Urbanist*, made war at the Popes command upon the King of France a *Clementine*: *Paul* the third, sent Cardinall *Poole* to forraigne Princes to stir them up against *Henry the eight*, giving him & his people as a prey to their enemies. So, how like is the Pope to the devill his father, in being prodigal of Kingdomes, which are none of his to deale. Doe wee ever reade (as a fryer *Minorite* said well) that *Peter* did so? Vpon what ground doe they incite subiects to take armes against their soveraigne Kings and Princes, as *Pius quintus*, & *Sixtus quintus*, the one by his Bull, the other by his Declaration, excited the subiects of England to take armes, against their soveraigne Queene *Elizabeth*: yea to lay hands on her and punish her? What just cause had *Philip* the 2 of Spaine, to undertake by force of Armes, against *Law and covenant*, the establishing of the bloody Inquisition in the Low countries? The best ground I can find was, *Duke de Alva*, his *hart-burne* against the people, and Cardinall *Granvils spleene* against the *Gospell*. What account in conscience, could the Duke and *Red-cap* giue, to counsell the King to conquer England, whereto he had no right at all, and to

suppresse religion in all other places? For the effecting of this *Chiapin Vitelli*, Duke de *Alva* his Chiefe Captaine, was sent with some faigned message to the Queene; but indeed his errand was to try the Papists: for immediatly after his departure out of England, the Earles rebelled in the North. And for fuell for this fire, Duke de *Alva* had ready in Zealand 10 Regiments to be imbarkt for England, but God quenched our fire quickly, and found him enough to doe at home for all his forces. But because this succeded not, the great Armado in '88, was set out to sinke our nation; For both the matter of that warre, and the cruell manner of the execution intended, if the ground be well searched, I thinke it will be found no better then the successe. As for that Hispaniolized Popish pamphleter, indeavouring with tooth and nayle to make good that Spanish invasion, from provocation given by her Majesty to the Spaniard, he shevveth himself a Viper to the honor of his Countrey, concealing treacherously both the iniquitie of the Spanish ground, and his treachery in the manner of proceeding, under the colour of a treatie: But him in his coulours I shall haue occasion in some other treatise to discover more largely.

The affairs
of Hol-
land.
pag. 53.

Lastly, for these present waris, maintrayned with much outrage and crueltie, by the popish faction, what good ground can be given, I see not, unlesse their *Trent designe* be a good ground, which was to root out the Gospell, and to ruine the Professors thereof *throughout all Christendome*. If this rule should hold in every war.

Bella magi-
stratus non
nisi iusta
gerat.

No war but just let Magistrates maintayn.

Then I am sure that all the aforesaid Warres of the crew recited, are against this rule; yea a just quarrell in the Popes or Spaniards hand, is a very rare thing. Witness their practises and possessions, the right whereof now I mean not to canvass. I am sure of this, that they contend for much, and keepe much, that they haue as much right to as the *Deuill had to the body of Moses*. One thing I could wish them, that they would

would follow *Charles* the 5, in one thing, who in his retired life, taking account of his actions (which were in number twenty more remarkable) he viewed them often, and amongst all the rest, when he looked upon that unjust war, made against the Duke of Saxon, and the rest of the Protestant Princes, with sighes and words hee much regrated the same; *But I fear they must be cloystered up, before they doe the like.* But if intreatie, or example cannot moue, let the infamie of unjust war, and the issue of it, terrifie all the undertakers of it. It is a shame for a Christian to play the Matchivilian. Now this is one of his most impious and hellish principles, *that upon any occasion a Prince may undertake warre, although there be no just ground for it.* Vpon which fals ground, he perswaded *Laurence de Medicis*, to undertake the conquest of Italy; which he might easily atchieue by the help of the Church, by the which he meant *Leo* the 10. He propounds likewise before him and others, that monstrous abortiue, *Cesar Borgia*, as a pattern to be followed: but to follow this pattern, or to usurp anothers right, is the very note and work of a tyrant; as the Chancellour of *Rochel* wel observed in the advice formerly mentioned.

As for the issue, both sacred Writ, and humane Histories, The bitter doe tell us; that remarkable ruin; yea, and sometimes utter fruits of extirpation, hath followed upon unjust warre. For breui- unjust war ties sake I will onely instance with these two, well known, but yet very memorable examples. The former of *Amaleck*, *Deu. 25. 19* concerning whom the Lord giues a strict charge that hee should be rooted out; yea, his people *should doe it, and not forget it*; so the Lord is said to haue him in remembrance, till he did see the charge fully executed. Another instance obserue in *Simeon*; when *Moses* before his death blesseth all *Dent. 32* the Tribes, *Simeons* name is quite omitted, which is not without matter of note, especially if we compare this with other passages answerable to this; as vwhen the blessing was first given he looseth his honour; his posterity in the wil- *Gen. 49. 5. 7* derneffe

Numb. 1.
26, & 14.

dernesse was diminished from 93000 at the first muster to 22200 at the latter muster: neither were there Iudges of his Tribe as of others; he had no possession by himselfe. The ground of all which, as I conceiue, vvas their unjust war and bloudy execution. Yea, the moving of unjust warre, argueth exceedingly the want of the fear of God, Deut. 25. 18:

Prov. 16. 6. for by the feare of the Lord men depart from evil. And what fear of God is there, in those Captaines, Colonels or Souldiers, that never looks to the cause, nor cares not whom they serue, so it be a golden service?

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Authority required in Waging War.

Ego enim existimo in summo imperatore quatuor habere esse oportere, scilicet scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, & felicitatem.

Cic. in orat. de laud.

mag. Pomp.

The necessity of authority.

THEY much having spoken of the equity of the cause, I come now to the second circumstance of the description, which requireth competency of person. A just cause of warre doth not warrant every man to undertake warre. Things required in warre may be reduced to these foure heads, *authority, vertue, fitnesse, and discipline*; though others may reduce them to some other heads, yet all comes to one effect. *Tully* requireth in the supreme Commander these foure things, Knowledge of War, Vertue, Authority and Successe. Successe here required by *Tully*, must of necessity follow the circumstances by me forementioned.

The first thing then is authority, primarily in the Magistrate, and from him derived to the Souldiers both Commanders and others. What the meanest souldier doth, hee must doe it by authority, which doth warrant him to doe many things, which otherwise were unlawfull; as to kill, sack, and spoyle; which without authority, were murther, robbery, and cruell oppression. Authority then is the Key

of War, without the which warre is a meer *Aceldama*, or field of blood, and a chaos of confusion. Moses, the great Commander of the Lord, had authority to fight the battels of the Lord: Like authority did he, at Gods command, put upon *Ioshua*. Take (saith the Lord) *Ioshua* the son of Nun, *Numb. 27. 18, & 23* a man in whom is the spirit, and put thy hand upon him, &c. which Moses did, as you may see in Numbers; by the renewing of the same charge, especially for the warre, Moses strengthens and confirms *Ioshua*; And Moses called to *Ioshua*, and *Deut. 31. 7.* said to him in the eyes of all Israel, be thou strong and courageous, for thou shalt goe in with this people, &c. Thus the war against the foure Kings was undertaken at *Abrahams* command. That rash and heady adventure of the Israelites against the Canaanites and Amalekites, as it was without Gods approbation, so it was without authority; for neither Moses, Aaron, nor the Arke went up with them, and therefore Moses doth call their attempt a *lofty presumption*: And such was their successe; for they were smitten to *Hormah*, a name *Numb. 14.* answerable to the event, namely *destruction*. Such be the warres made by the man of sinne, and the Locusts of the bottomlesse pit, against the Lord, and his annoynted. What warrant had they, even by their pretended right, to undertake warre? Did ever Aaron under the Law, or Peter under the Gospell, levie Arms for the field? But this their practise is agreeable to a rule of their own, so it be for the good of the Church, they never look for further authority then the Popes, whom they pretend to haue authority over heaven, Hell and Putgatorie. And what may they not then doe on earth? But if they be prest to shew lawfull authority for the taking up of Arms, I think the best evidence they can giue, is, some forged transcript from the back side of *Constantines donation*. I may well resemble this Antichristian vvarfare for vwant of authority, unto the vvar of that false Christ, that arose in the raig of *Traian* the Emperour, whose name vvas *Barr Chochab*, that is, sonne of the Star, false

Romish
Clergie no
persons au-
thorized
for war.

Numb. 24.
17.

Of him
mention
is made in
the Tal-
lud.

Ioseph de
bell. Iud.
lib. 4. ch. 8,
& lib. 7.

The Iesu-
ites like the
Zelators.

The gun-
powder
psalter.

Psal. 4.

ly alluding to that place of *Numbers*, where Christ is truly so called: but for his mocking of the people, and blaspheming of God, he was slain in the battell, and called afterward, by the deluded people, *Bar Coziba*, that is, the son of falsehood. And such indeed are the Iesuites, the very *Incendiaries* of unlawfull warres; or if you will, you may compare them in this case, with that rebellious rout of the Iews, which called themselves, *Zelators*, under colour of fighting for religion and common-wealth; they choosed for their Chieftains the grand-captains of vickednesse; they committed cruelties, outrages and impieties of all sorts. Insomuch that *Vespasian*, Lieftenant generall to *Nero*, vvas sent to suppress them: vvhose termes of peace, by the mouth of *Iosephus* from him offered, they scorned by their going on; so that as *Iosephus*; *Vespasian* vvas forced to proceed to vvar; vvhich as it continued a long time, so it discovered these goodly *Zelators*, vvhich in their extremity set the Temple on fire, and brought utter ruin upon themselves, vvhith the death of a million of men. Iust so; these Babilonish brattes pretend Religion, as appeareth especially in their new *Psalter*, or seven-fold *Psalmody*, vvhith the hymnes vvhich they solaced themselves in the expectation of the *Gunpowder Iubilee*; but their aim indeed is, the racing out of Religion, the ruin of Kingdoms, and the disposing of them at their pleasure. "In one of their hellish hymns, they tell us, that holy King " *Edward*, and gracious Queen *Elizabeth*, were the curses of " the land, vvhich indeed vvere great blessings: they shew " vvhich fire vve haue deserved, and vvhich fire in effect they " had provided for us; praying heartily, that *the hearts of* " *the labourers therein may be strengthened*. Another of their " Hymns is, all full of triumph, namely, *how after the year* " *of visitation*, and Ioy of Iubilie, *Ierusalem* should be built " again, and the second glory thereof should be greater than the first. But vvhich *authority* had these fire-work-men in that tempestuous night (as they call it) to blow up a vvhole State,

State, and to dispose of our Kingdom at their pleasure? A man would not think that they had any but from the Pope, and such a devill whose name is *Legion*; yet they point in their psalm at a *Fabius* and *Marcellus*, both in one person, whom they call a *second Cyrus*, stirred up to confirm his Scepter for the good of his people. Who this should be, except it be the Popes eldest sonne (whom the Iesuites hold to be the great Lord of the world) I know not: But this I am sure of, that *Tarquinius Furius*, hath more fire in his bosome, and more snakes in his hands to devoure us, and to set up their *Cyrus*, then ever they had. The heads of *Hydra* increase, and such a number of Todes come out of the brains of the Pope, and Serpents out of the raynes of the Iesuites, that they cover the face of the earth, especially of these Kingdoms. But we had need to awake; for if we come to the Popes disposing (which the great God forbid) without doubt, the Iesuites *Cyrus* should not want his double portion; for the obtaining whereof *Viriatus* wants not his own stratagem.

CHAPT. V.

Of the Vertue of a Souldier.

THe second personall circumstance is vertue; by which I meane not barely those morall vertues, wherewith the heathens were rarely gifted, as *Cesar*, *Pompei*, &c. (who indeed by these make our age blush,) but also those cardinall or Theologicall vertues, called sometimes by the name of godlines, and sometimes the feare of God: and that because the feare of God or godlines, is the fountaine and foundation of all other vertues: Where this is not (as one saith well) the rest are not true vertues indeed, but shadowes. It is worth the observation

2. Vertues

1. Tim. 6. 8.

Exodus 18.

Or 21.

Non sunt

vera virtu-

tes, sed um-

bra.

Dent. 28. 3.

vation, that where God amongst the rest of his blessings, doth promise that *their war shall prosper*; He first bleſſeth the person: he must be a good man before he be a good and acceptable souldyer to God. God will not accept or bleſſe the action (at least to that partie) before he bleſſe and accept the person: but the person being accepted, howsoever it fall out, it is a blessing to him. Such especially should be the commanders from the highest to the lowest; yea as every one excelleth in eminency; so he should labour to excel in true pietie; and that for these reasons.

2. King. 16.

Reasons
of vertues
necessitie.

Tanto con-
spectius in se
crimen ba-
bet, quanto
qui peccat
major babe-
bit.

First, a fault in the face is foule, and the *greater person the greater sin*. Secondly the sin of such is exemplarie and therefore a double sin. Let *Vitellius* play the ryot, *Tiberius* the drunkard; will the souldiers be sober? Let *Sardanapalus* sit down to the distaffe, will his souldiers care for armes? Let *Nero* play the Mad-man, or rather the monster of men; will not his souldiers be as mad and monstons as he? Let *Ieroboam* be an Idolator, all his followers will be of that fashion. Let *Lewis 11*, be an egregious dissembler, & his Courteours will be of that cut. Thirdly, as nothing corrupts more the evil example, so nothing is of more force to correct the their good example. When *Lewis* the 11, of France scorned learning, all the Court & Nobles thought it but foolery; but *Francis* the 1, both being learned himself, and affecting the learned, every state fell to affect learning. As the Romane Emperours and commanders were good or bad; so were the souldiers better, or worse. As valour failed in King *Iohn*, & he began to submit to the Pope; so his subjects were content to put their necks under forreigne Government: but as *Edward* the third, rose up to be the hammer of papish power, & to challenge & maintaine his right, both by *Counsel* and *Armes*, the land became a counsell of war, and an army of valorous counsellors. Fourthly, the successe of the war doth often follow the vertue of the commander. To omit other examples, witnes the Kings of Iudah. While they were good, they peyaled against their enemies

enemies, as *David, Ezekiah, &c.* but by the contrary against 2. King. 16
the bad Kings, the enemies; prevailed; instance *Achas*, bran-
ded by the Lord for a bad one, *this is that Achas*; and he had 2. Chron. 28
as bad successe. For evidence whereof, reade the places quo-
ted. It is often noted of that King, and great Commander
Moses, that he was *the servant of God*; and that not onely for
his authoritie and fidelitie in his place, but also for his pietie. Deut. 34. 5.
And this indeed is the greatest honour, that any Comman- Rev. 15. 3.
der can attaine to, to be Gods servant. So did *David* esteeme
it. It is said of *Cornelius*, the *Centurion*, that he was a devout
man fearing God. Thus you see then, that it is not enough
for a man to haue a good cause, & authoritie in his hand, but
if he will thrive and haue the same to prosper, he must be
good himselfe. It then condemneth to hell, from whence it
came, that hellish principle of, *Matchiavell*, that a Prince, or
great One, should endeavor rather to be esteemed religious, then to
be so indeed. He hath to many apt Schollers, in this especi-
ally; but is not this to extinguish the light of nature, to
mocke God, and to play the damnable hypocrite? What
gaines he by this? First, that which is not in graine cannot
hold. Secondly, when once he commeth to dance in a nett,
and the colour is cast to the eyes of all men, then he turnes
from hypocrisie to open impietie; he takes on the *Lyons skin*
when the *foxes* will not serve; (which is a mayne instance of
this *Matchiavillian* rule) and he maintayneth that with open
tyranny, which he could not cover with hypocrisie. Lastly,
when the Lord hath made him thus vile, he makes his grave
in a field of shame. All these may be instanced in *Julian* a
grand hypocrite, while his uncle *Constantine* lived; but as great
an *Apostate*, and as cunning an *Atheist* after his death. But
his end was answerable to his courses. Such ends made
Gaius Caligula that errant *Atheist*, and *Herod Agrippa* that
cruell murderer; yet, the one dissembled paynim devotion,
and the other the profession of true religion, as might ap-
peare by his solliciting *Tiberius* for the *Iewes*, when he was
incensd

Applica-
tion.

2. part.
mix. 1.

Pompon:
La. 1 in Juli

incenst against them. Let Christian Princes then follow *Abraham; walke with God and be upright, and in peace and warre God shall blesse them.*

Now as the Commāder must be such, such also should the souldiers be, as *Cornelius* was a devout man himselfe; so he called unto him, with histwo servants, a devout souldier also.

Att. 10. 7. God himselfe in *Deuteromy*, giues lawes concerning the puritie of a Campe; *when the Campe goeth forth against thine ene-*

Deut. 23. 9. *mies, then keepe thee from every evill thing; which after he*

10. *Numb. 5. 23* calls *uncleannes*, because sin defileth. He here forbiddeth all morall, civill, & legall uncleannes; the former two concerne

all camps. So in *Numbers*, the leper and *uncleane* were put out of the Campe. Of all lepers the sinner is the foulest, and

of all sinners the wicked souldier is the greatest. One *Achan* made the whole army fare the worse. Vnholy Armies, al-

2of: 7.

though they be for a good cause, and war under lawfull authoritie; yet through their exorbitant courses, they incourage the hearts, and inarmes the hands of the enemies. I will produce but one instance, because I must labour to abridge my self, having many things to goe through. *Aven-*

The
Turkes ad-
vantage
by our
sins.

tinus relateth how they of *Rhodes* wrote to *Frederick* the third, & the Princes Electors, how the great *Turke*, being dissuaded by his Nobles from making war against the Christians, especially against the Germans; his answer was, as he feared no Christians, so least of all the Germans; and that for 4 reasons. First, their disagreement amongst themselves, like the five fingers of a mans hand which seldome come together. Secondly, they are dissolute in their lives, by whooring, drinking and all manner of riot, delighting more in great plumes of fethers, then martiall armes. Thirdly, they are disorderly in their proceedings. Fourthly, they neglect all laws of government, not punishing the bad or rewarding the good. As the *Turke* putteth these imputations upon a nation once second to none (as they gave good prooffe to *Cesar*) so I wish, that they, & all Europes armies, could quit themselves of these, better then indeed they can: for howsoever the en-

vious Turke with *Lamia* his eyes, seeth much abroad and nothing at home; yet our home-bred evils, which he thus taxeth are more hurtful to us, then all his forces; as witnesseth *Fo-lieta*, in a speech to the same effect, upon that victory obtained by the Christians in a Sea-fight against *Assanus Bassa*, where he obserueth that they stand not so much by their own forces, as by our sloth, negligence, and discord. *De sacro foedere l. 3.*

Oh then that vvee vould make a holy Warre indeed; that is, to be holy in our selues; and then neither Gog nor Magog should preuaile against us. To this end, the Lord biddeth us *sanctifie a war*. By which phrase hee vvills, that all that vvill *Jer. 6. 4.* vvar for him should be holy. As this serueth to direct us what manner of souldiers in a just warre are required; so it discovers the blasphemy of that Matchiavillian principle of Atheism; wherein with open mouth, he preferreth Paganism in souldiers, to true Religion; because Religion (saith he) makes men humble, *pusillanimious*, or *weak-minded*, and more apt to receiue injurie then to repell it. Before I come to the answer, let me say thus much of him once for all; if that Atheistly *burn paper*, and *blinde bayard*, had lived amongst the Heathens, and had dealt with their *seynd gods*, as he hath dealt with the *true God*, they vould haue made him an example to the world, and would haue burned his blasphemous papers in the fire; but as they humored exceedingly his lewd Countermen, so they flew over the Alpes; yea, and the Seas also, infecting France, and all the rest of Christendome: Infomuch, as the Sybillin oracles were the refuge of the Painims for their direction; so most Princes, and their affaires now, are guided by Matchiavel. Are not men now of diuillish pates, and deep reaches to the evill, and such as are acquainted with the depth of *Satans policie*, the onely men of service (as they call them?) Yea, say they be but very beetles and block-heads, yet if their brains vvill serue to *hatch toades*, they will serue the turn as well as can be; if he can swear horribly, and blaspheme fearfully,

with termes not to be named; if he can roare and quarrell, and out-face heaven and earth by his sinnes, he is fitter to be a souldier (saith the Matchiavillist) then he that will say, surely, and truly, and so forth: because such a one is a meer Puritan, and so weak and faint-hearted, that the enemy doth not fear him.

To come then to the answer of the point: there is nothing more impious then the *Position*; and nothing faller then the reason. For the first, is there any thing more impious, then to prefer Paganism to Piety? If this had been good, in vain had *John* perswaded the doubtfull Souldiers to take a holy course. Likewise the reason (that true Religion maketh men cowards) it is against all reason, against the nature of true magnanimity, the power of Religion, and the experience of time. Standerh it with reason, that hee that hath the strongest on his side, should haue the least courage? True magnanimity makes a man couragious to undertake the good, and hate and abhor the evill as a base thing, unworthy of such a spirit. Who but the religious doe so? Also the power of religion, doth tie a man that hath it to his God, assuring him if he loose this life he shall haue a better. The souldier thus perswaded in his conscience, and bearing Arms for a good cause: as for the glory of God, the defence of Religion, the good of his Countrey, and credit of his Prince; will not love his life unto death, in the doing of his service. *Cesar* tells us, that the ancient *Gaules* were a generous and warlike people; wherof he giues this ground; that they resolutely beleevved the immortality of the soule. Have not all the true Worthies of the world bin religious ones? Who more truly magnanimious? Who more valorous & victorious then *David*, & yet a man for zeal & piety, according to Gods own heart? Who more couragious then holy *Constantine*, who vanquished *Licinius*, bringing peace to the Gospell, and establishing the Gospell of peace? What glorious victories had godly *Theodosius*, who was Gods gift to the Church indeed,

against

The power
of religiō.

against the Barbarians, and other enemies of the Empire? I could bring many other instances, but these will suffice. And as none more worthy then such; so none more unworthy then irreligious Atheists, the openly prophane, or rotten hypocrite. Was there ever a greater coward then *Gaius Caligula*, who would hide his head at the Thunder? And marching one time on foot through a streight, with his Army, was put in mind by one, if the enemy should charge them, what fear they might be in; like a cowardly Atheist, he mounts himselfe in an instant, and fled with all his might, though no man pursued him. Let the word, a witness beyond all exception, determine this question; *The sinners in Syon are afraid, fearfulness hath surprized the hypocrites*, Esa. 33. 14. For how can that man stand, who is pursued by God and an ill conscience? Other instances I might give of great Tyrants, yet Clarke Cowards, but I can give but a touch; onely let me commend to you an instance of this kind, worth your observation. As the Kings of Iudah were holy and religious, so they were valorous and victorious; they were, as God promised they should be, *the head and not the taylor*; but on the contrary, as they were impious and idolatrous, so they became degenerated and cowardly; and so they became, as God threatned, *the taylor and not the head*.

The wicked errant Cowards.

Sueton. in Calig. ca. 35
Dion. in Calig.

Esai.

And as it is with Commanders, so it is with souldiers, The vertue of a souldier. remarkable and miraculous was that blessing that God gave to *Marcus Anthonius* the Philosopher, and his Army, and that by means of the Christian companies, that warred under him in his war against the Marcomans and Quadians: He and his whole Army were inclosed in a dry country, having no means to come by water, but through a streight passage which the enemy kept, and were like to be lost without one strok; the Emperours Generall, in this distresse, told him, that he had a Legion of Christians in his Army, which could obtain any thing of their God, that they prayed for; the Emperour hereupon thought himselfe not too good to

Xiphil.
apud Dion.
in Marc.
Anto.

intreat them this office, which they willingly, and heartily performed in the name of Christ. God, as hee is ready to hear, answered their desires with lightning upon their enemies, and plenty of rain upon themselves, which they kept in their Targets and Head-peeces, and drunk. Whereupon such fear fell upon their enemies, that through terrour they were vanquished without stroke: wherefore the Emperour called them, *The Thundering Legion*, and honoured them ever after, and *all Christians* for their sakes.

Object.

But some will object, doe we not see and reade, that men monstrously wicked, haue behaved themselves to death, so valorously in the field, that their names haue no mean place in the book of valour.

Ans.

I answer, ambition may provoke a man, to buy a bed of earthly honour vvith his dearest blood; or unadvisedly he may adventure, not counting what it may cost him: but if he should compare this life with eternall death attending after it, upon all those that are not in Christ; he durst not for a world be so prodigall of this life, except he knew of a better; yea, he would quake and tremble at the verie thought of death. Then to conclude this point; as *Ioshua* had a resolution, that he and his house would serue the Lord; and as *David* would haue the faithfull to serue him: so, let those that will be *Gods* warriours, be *good* warriours. For as the evill carriage of Souldiers, both Popish and Protestant, haue laid Christian Kingdoms open to the Turkes tyrannie; so we must confesse to our shame, that our unworthy walking; and walking after the flesh, betrayes our good cause into the hand of the *man of sin*; whose souldiours doe not prevaile, because their carriage is better then their cause, (for both are starke naught) but hee cannot endure that in his own, which for a time he will in his enemies. The Midianites that caused the Israelites to sin, vv ere vvorse then the Israelites; but God first corrected his own people, and then vexed the Midianites.

Numb. 25.
31.

Last of all. If any say, that this my frame of a Souldier, *Object. 2.* is like Sir Thomas Moore his *Utopia*, or Tully his Orator, shewing rather what should be, then what possible can be.

I answer, it is true, if we respect the perfection of the thing: but it doth not follow, that we should not labour for perfection. No phisicall rules can be laid down, nor receipts given to reduce the body to a perfect latitude of health; yet still the Phisitians prescribe, and study. On all hands, *Let bee done what can be done.* And first, let one labour to be such, and if they cannot finde such, let them strine to make them such. And let us all pray that our Camps may be holy Camps, and our Warres sanctified to the Lord.

CHAPT. VI.

Of the Fittesse of the Souldier.

THE third personall circumstance is the fittesse of the Souldier. It is not enough in warre to be a good man; but he must also be a good Souldier. *Ten Souldiers are better (as the French-man saith) then twenty Ramesets.* Agamemnon wished but ten such Souldiers as Nestor, to foil all his enemies in Phrigia, and to make the Greeks return victoriously to their Nation. These were precious Jewels in the eyes of the worlds Worthies. This was the difference berwixt Alexander the Great, and Phillip his father; hee looked for the best Souldiers; and his father for the best money: of whom one saith prettily, that Phillip wan all Greece, *tanquam Mercator, as a Marchant*; but Alexander wan all Asia, *tanquam Victor, as a Conquerour*. It is without controverfie, as the Wise obserue, that money is the belly of an army, the sine *us* of war, and the body of a Souldier; but yet without the ani-

*In omni
autem præ-
lio, non tam
multitudo
& virtus
in doctrina,
quam ars,
& exerci-
tium solent
prestare vi-
toriam.*
*Veg. de re
militari
lib. 1. ca. 1.*
*Imo miles
inexercita-
tus femina*
Exod. 15. 3

animal spirit of cunning; and the vitall spirit of valour; a golden souldier may become a leaden slaue; but with these many times, a moneylesse souldier, may become a commander both of men and money. An instance of this for many, wee haue in the *Grecians*, compared with the *Per-
sians*, their delicate fare, glorious furniture, and exceeding great wealth, with themselves, were a prey to the "*Grecian* valour. In every war (saith that great and learned souldier) is not so much the unskilfull and rude multitude, as art and exercise that getteth the victorie; which he instanceth in the *Romans* subduing of the *Gaules*, *Germanes*, and *Spaniards*. It is a groundles conceit, & against all experience, that a multitude without Art, is enough wherewith to conquer: for an unskilfull souldier, is not onely himselfe subject to danger, but he indangers others also. Yea an unskilfull souldiour is no better then a woman. It is to be observed, that amongst the rest of Gods excellencies this is reckoned up, that *Iehovah* is a man of war; that is, an excellent warriour, who by his pollicie, prudence and skill, turnes all to the best advantage of his owne.

*Magistri
Armorū.
Reading
and use re-
quisite for
Arms.*

How this skill should be attayned unto, it is neyther my end, nor my art to manifest in particular. Militarie motions, postures, distinction of orders, distances, marches, countermarches, & such like, I leaue to the *Tacticks* or *maisters of armes*, (as *Vegetius* calles them). Onely for the generall, to make an exquisit souldier, reading and use must conuurre. Let no good souldier detract from eyther. Meere exercise without reading is empyrisme: and meere reading without exercise is but imagination. Yea a meere read souldier, is like unto a Shipmaster onely by the booke. Therefore saith *Vegetius*, an unexercised souldier is alwayes a meere novist; yet without learning the exercised, is not a compleat souldier: because particulars (say they be many) are the obiect of sense, but universals be the obiect of understanding. Our great souldiers, were not onely *Tacticks*, but also writers of tacticks: As *Pyrrhus*, *Cesar*, *Acti-*

an, *Frontin*, *Cyrus*, *Xenophon*; yea the greatest schollers haue been the greatest souldiers. The Poet *Homer* is observed to be the first (at least that we reade of) that was skilled in the inbat-
 ling of an armie, much admired by that martialist *Mneftines* *Epist. Fam. libro 9.*
Tullie said, he became a great Generall, by the reading of *Pavirius* his letters. *Cyrus* his father could tell him; the *Tactickes* *Epist. 15.*
 would not availe, without the knowledge of arts invented *Xenophon*,
 for the use of war. Yea, learning hath carryed it out in a Generall
 pinch, when bare practise hath been at its wits end. To omit *Veres* use
 other instances, take that remarkable one of the battle of *not lear-*
Newport, Anno 1600: where our forces, having got the rize *ning in*
 of the sandy hilles; the Spanish forces were betwixt them *the battel*
 and Ostend, in a low place. It was generally thought the *of New-*
 best, to charge the enemy by descending to them. But the
 English Generall, wisely, would not condescend to loose
 the advantage of the place, citing for his judgement from
Casars Commentaries, the like practice of *Cesar* against the
Gaules. And it had the very like successe. For, the Spaniard,
 charging ours against the advantage of the ground, had
 such hot entertayment from above, that it brake their forces
 exceedingly at the first, and so they lost the day. This mili-
 tary learning made great *Pompey* to much admire the Philo-
 sopher *Posidonius*, that after the victorie over *Mithridates*, he
 came to his house, and honored him much. *Cesar*, then we
 see, should be able to write *Commentaries*, and *Cicero* in some
 measure (if neede be) to order an armie. And if you would
 have the picture of a compleat souldier; Let *Cesar* in him-
 selfe give it you, *ex utroque Cesar*.

CHAP. VII.

Of Discipline in Generall.

*Disciplina
parentibus
Romanis
antiquior
fuit quam
salus libero-
rum.
Disciplina
optime ex-
ercitus mu-
nitur.*

*The use &
neglect of
Discipline
with the
effects.*

*Disciplina
majorum
Remp. tenet,
que si dila-
batur &
nomen Ro-
manum &
imperium
amittimus.
In orat. ad
milites
apud Lamp.
In Epitom.
Dioni. In
stitut. cap. 8
Iosephus de
bello Iudai-
co lib. 3.
cap. 5.*

THe last personall circumstance, but not the least, is discipline, which is the *key of all*. This, in all the passages of war, from the levying of souldiers till they be dismissed, is duely to be looked unto. On the wings of this, did the Romanes soare from small beginings (as *Vegetius* observeth) *to be conquerors of the world*. This (as a *Civilian* observeth) *was dearer to them then the life of their childrē*. *Cassiodorus* observeth, *that it is the strongest guard that an armie can have*. By discipline men doe not onely attayne their ends; but they keep that, by it, whereunto they attayne. As in the strict law of discipline, the weale of Armies and Kingdoms doe consist; so from the want of this, or remisse and loose execution of it, ariseth the ruine of Armes, and the advancement of the enemies. This testifieth *Alexander Severus*, as great a souldier as an Emperor, being so called for his strict exercise of militarie Discipline; *The Discipline of our ancients* (saith the Emperour) *preserveth the common-wealth, which if wee let slip never so litle, wee loose both our name and Empire*. *Evagrius* in effect hath the same observation. *By the wisdom of Commanders, and strict discipline, with obedience amongst souldiers, how great things are effected! But if either of these, or both be wanting, then all is undone*. *Lactantius* relateth the loosness of militarie discipline, as one of the fore-running signes of the latter day. As *Iosephus* exceedingly commends the strictness of militarie Discipline, that he observed among the Romanes; so the best and greatest souldiers, amongst Christians, haue heavily complained of the want of this amongst us, and that not without cause: for this appeareth in the losse of our renowne, and Territories, to the Turke; whose observancie of Discipline

Discipline to his advantage, & our losse, may make us blush. *Seidlitzius*, a Noble and militarie man, being captiue to the Turke, did admire (as he writes) the discipline of the Turkish armie, the modestie of their carriage, and the securitie of the country people, by whom they did March. But on the contrary, with detestation, he vehemently reprehendeth the dissolution, raven, and more then beastly loosness, of our souldiers, that will be called Christians. Whence is our fall, and their rize and standing; but from these contrary courses? The Turkes strictness of discipline hath got what he hath, and our loosness of living hath lost what he hath got. I may well take up the complaint in the words of *Scipio* in *Liui*, speaking to *Masinissa*: wee need not so much to feare the forces of our enemies, as wee haue cause to feare our owne ill conditions. Therefore all Christian Commanders this day, if they would haue Gods war to prosper, honour to themselves, glory to God, and good to the common-wealth, must goe about reformation of this so absolutely necessary discipline. It is true that great Commanders, as Emperours and others, haue not onely exercised discipline strictly, but caused books to be written; as a booke in Greeke and Latine of Discipline, set forth by the command of *Iustinian*. The Emperiall sanction for discipline, in the Parliament of *Spier*, Anno 1570, But for want of executors of these good lawes, wee may cry out with, *Horace*:

Our wee
for want
of Disci-
pline.

*Historia
Peregrinat.*

*Non est
mibi (crede)
tantum ab
hostibus ar-
matis peri-
culi, &c.
Lib. 10.
Decad. 3.*

*Quid leges
sine mori-
bus vane
proficiunt.
Si vis Tri-
bunus esse,
(imo si vis
vivere) con-
tine manus
militum.
Recensetur
a Flavio
Vopisco.
Comman-
ders must
begin with
Discipline
at them-
selves,*

Lawes are in vaine where manners are not mended.
All good Commanders of what sort soever, should take that charge to themselves, that *Aurelianus* gaue to his Generall in a military Epistle: *If thou wilt be a Tribune* (saith the Emperour) *yea if thou wilt liue, keepe backe the souldiers hand from doing euill.* In this worke, wise Commanders must begin with themselves; the greatest that is, must not say with *Pericles*; *I am not subiect to order*: but for this, he became a proverbe and was called by the people:

ἢν σὺς σὺντακτός; ὁ ἄσυντακτός σὺς.

He that orders others, must first order himselfe. The discipline of a loose Commander will doe little good upon others. And therefore *Adrian* is much commended; not onely for his admirable valour, and exquisite experience, but also for his strictnesse towards himselfe. In the warres he fared hard, his lodging was answerable; he marcht many times on foot with his souldiers, he spared no paines, underwent willingly all labours; insomuch that *Florus* the drunken Poet would not haue his honour with his paines: His eie was alwaies over his souldiers, he desired to know them in particular; he would visit them in sicknesse; and hee removed all things from the Camp that might remoue Discipline: So *Alexander* the Great would desire his Souldiers to undergoe no stricter rules, then he would himselfe. Such were *Severus*, *Scipio*, *Phirrus*, and others.

Appli-
cation.

Would to God our Commanders would imitate those, and doe but as much for an eternall weight of glory, as they did for their Country, and a name upon earth. I haue not onely read, but mine eares haue heard to my grieffe, the heauie and true complaints of Souldiers, injured by their Captaines and higher Commanders; namely, in detayning of their pay, which is indeed next unto sacriledge. It offends violence to the whole Army, indangers the cause, be it neuer so good; it cuts the throat of discipline. And therefore great Ones, if they loue their liues, and the honour of themselves and their Country, let them with *Cesar*, and others, take heed that this strange fire be not in their Armies, for fear they cannot quench it when they would. This is one main cause, why our Souldiers now a daies come short (for the most part) of the Romanes valour; that they are neither so regarded, rewarded, nor justly dealt with. For besides the punishment, it was an indeble Character of infamy to defraud a souldier of his due.

Souldiers
should not
wrong any

But as they should haue no wrong, so they should be kept from wronging their calling, themselves, or others, and that by

the exercise of discipline, wherof there be two parts, as *Austin* well observeth, though in another kinde, namely, *Instruction* and *Correction*; the former of these must be effected with love, and the latter with fear. *Alexander Severus* had his name from his watchfull eye that he had over their performances, and his strict punishment of delinquency. Such were the Laws of the *Romans* (as *Iosephus* telleth us) that the least negligence was capital, and the Captains were more terrible then the Lawes themselves. *Labienus* the Captain, being forbidden by *Cesar* to fight before he came; though in likelyhood, by an advantage given, he might haue defeated the enemy, yet he would not violate the Lawes of Discipline. Yet in the exercise of discipline, a Commander should be discreet: for as the Commenter upon *Vegetius*, well observeth, Too too much lenity marreth all; so too too much acerbity hazardeth all: Therefore the golden mean is to bee kept; but alwaies with *Tully* his observation, That saving rigidity, should goe beyond a vain shew of clemency. *Cicullus*, otherwise a braue Captaine, undid himselfe with his too great severity: He could command much, but hee was not affable; He was severe in the exaction of service; but hee was indeprecable in punishment: at length he was forsaken of his souldiers, who proved as faithfull to *Pompey*, as they were unfaithfull to him; which argued much his indiscretion. *Traian* in his discipline had such a braue temper, that his souldiers vvere more ashamed, then afrayed to be insolent. Likewise Souldiers must learn to subject their necks to the yoke of discipline, which is the bond of war: for the Commander beareth not the sword for nothing; and the souldier that doth well need not fear. They must not repine at the due inflicted punishment; for as the Commander doth not willingly inflict it, so one must rather perish then unity, (especially where it is deserved.) They must know, how hardly souldiers are kept in order, and vvhhat a dangerous thing disorder is in warre. To conclude this point, I wish

Disciplina ad duo dividitur, in instructionem, & correctionem, quorum primum amore, secundum timore efficitur. De moribus Ecclesia. Minima negligentiae erant capitales lib. 3. de bell. laudico.

Rigor salutaris vincere debet inanimatam speciem Clementiae. Ac in rarum gestarum rationibus respondendis, inexorabilis autem in suppliciorum Dion. in de ta Pomp.

Perat unus potius quam unitas.

from my heart that our souldiers now, may deserue the commendation that Iosephus gaue to the Romane souldiers: "They so obsequiously obeyed their Commanders, that in peace they were an ornament, and in warre the whole Army was as one body; so that, with ready eares, and quick eies, to receive signes and precepts, they performed their service courageously and strenuously. How could they then (saith he) not conquer?"

CHAP. VIII.

Of the lawfull undertaking of War.

1 Causes
to be made
known.
2 Repara-
tion de-
manded.
3 And
lastly warr
to be de-
nounced.

Judg. 20.

Scripture
abused by
the Doct.
of Doway.

THESE having shewed the personall circumstances, I come to the third main circumstance of the description namely, the lawfull undertaking of it. A war may be lawfull in it selfe, and yet unlawfully undertaken: As for not making the causes known: not requiring reparation of the wrong: and finally for not denouncing of the warre. All these were observed by the Israelites in repairing the wrong done to the Levite and his Concubine. For, first the Tribe sent to Gibeah, to expostulate the wickednesse with Benjamin; they demanded those children of Belial that were the malefactors; that by putting them to death evill might be done away. To the which, when the children of Benjamin would not hearken, Israel makes war against them, which doubtlesse was denounced upon the denyall; as appeared by the Benjamites taking notice of it, and preparing themselves to intertain the wvar, Judg. 20. 11, 12, &c. In which passage it is not amisse to obserue that Marginall note of rebellion, of the Doctors of Doway, made upon the place: That omission or contempt to punish heynous crimes, is a just cause to make warre against any people. Their bloody conclusiō falsly obser-

obser-

observed from the premisse, I shall after haue occasiō to handle; for the present let this suffice. They force the Text against the minde of the holy Ghost. For howsoever the people were devided in tribes, yet it was one intire politique body, the heads vvhwhereof might call any offenders to an account; which they might not haue done, if they had been under distinct dominions and policies. But of this more hereafter.

To the present matter, that this proceeding is requisite; it is not onely cleere from the law of nature and nations, but also from the law of God; & the continued practise both of Gods people, & of the heathen. In the booke of the law the Lord commandeth his people, *when they come to fight against a Cittie*, they should proclaime peace, which if they entertayned, then were they to saue them, & make them tributaries; But if they should reject the condition, then were they to besiege the Cittie, to smite the people, & to take the spoile to themselves, *Deut. 20. 10. 11. 12.* So the tribes, by Embassadors, examined the *Reubenites* erecting of the Altar, before they would war against them, *Iosh. 22. 12.* Yea God himself, who for his dominion and power, both in heaven and earth, is called the *Lord of hosts*, keepeth this selfe same course in his proceeding against the rebellious sonnes of men. For prooofe hereof the Scripture is copious, I will therefore point out one place in the prophesie of Hosea. *Blow ye the cornet in Gilead, & the trumpet in Ramah, cry aloud, or beat up the drum at Bethaven, after thee O Benjamin.* As here the Prophet describeth the treacherie and rebellion of the people against God, so he bringeth in God (as it were) comming in armes, or marching in battle-ray against the people. But withall he willethe the priests, and watchmen upon the wall, to giue them warning; by sound of trumpet, and beating of the drumme, to proclaim the Lords comming, that they might prepare themselves to meet the Lord by repentance. And this God doth, to shew the equitie of his wayes; that as he giveth lawes to others, he will be a law to himselfe. The heathens that know

Reasons.

Cb. 8. 10.

not

*Belli equi-
tar sanctis-
sime ficiali
populi Ro-
mani iure
prescripta
est, nam
nullum bel-
lum iustum,
nisi quod
denunciatur
sit & indi-
ctum. lib.
2. de off.
* Author
de viris il-
lustribus.
cap. 5.
* Livi lib. 1.
Gell. lib. 10.
* Columna
bellica.
* Ammianus
Marcellinus
lib. 16.*

not God were strict in this course, as appeareth by an invio-
lable rule of war mentioned by Tullie. The equitie of war doth
religiously require, that by an herauld of armes, from the Roman
Senate, war should be proclaimed. For no war (saith he) can be
just which is not before denounced and praclaymed. This forme
of denouncing war, was first taken up amongst the heathens
by one Rhesus, as witnesseth the *Author of worthy men* brought
into Rome, as Livi witnesseth by *Ancus Marcius* their
King; the forme whereof wee finde in sundry Authors of
note. * A herauld of Armes with two sufficient witnesses, was to
fling a speare into the Territories of the enemy. Vpon the in-
largment of their dominions, they had a Pillar, which they
called the Pillar of war; from which they flung a bloody speare
(that was kept in the Temple of Mars) toward the enemy, on
whom they vvere to vvar. This was likewise the custome
of the Persians.

CHAPT. IX.

Against Whom to War.

An enemy
must be
the object
of war.

THE fourth circumstance following in the description,
concerneth the object of war, or the partie, against whom
we are to war; namely, an internall or externall enemy. So did
the Israelites, in their warres commanded against the seven
nations, or in their warres permitted upon occasion against
their enemies. So the Israelits against the Beniamits, for they
were become Gods enemies, and the enemies of the com-
mon-wealth. The Lord will not suffer his people to meddle
vvith the Moabites; because they vvere friends in the flesh,
(though untoward ones) permitting (-yet by Gods mercy)
his people to passe by them, paying for the necessities they
tooke of them. So neither with the Ammonites nor
Mo-

theirs did they meddle, *Dent. 2. 9. 19.* It was a Law amongst the Romanes, that upon controversies arising, friendship should be given up, and deadly enmity openly profest before they made warre upon them.

*Jacobus
Ruardus
Comment.
de divers.
Reg. jur.*

Hence it appeareth how unwarrantably against the Law, of Nature and Nations, the Duke of Bavaria hath taken up Armes against his deer and faithfull friend, without just cause, or good occasion given him, by him, or his. *Cræsus* was demanded by *Socrates*, vvhhat vvas the preciousst thing he had gained by his greatnesse? He answered *revenge upon his foes, and advancement of his friends.* What a vile thing is it then, to take vengeance on the friend, and to advance the foe! *A hurtfull friend is worser then a foe.* So that the good Princes may say with the Psalmist, *if our enemies had done it, we could haue born it.* A wound from a friend is a double wound, & *Shipwrack in the Haven is grievous.* But what should we say? Though *David* in amazement complain, it must be thus; partly, that the tryals of those that stand for God may be the closer; and partly that false friends may be unmasked: and lastly, that Poperie may proclaim to the world (as it ever hath done) that there is no cord so strong, nor bond so strict, but it will either cut it, or untie it,

*Max.
Serm. 6.*

*Φίλος δε
βλαπτων*

*αδεν ex
θρσ δια-*

Φορετ.

*Fallit por-
tus & ipsi
fidem?*

Propert.

CHAP. X.

The orderly pursuit of War.

THE fifth circumstance, especially to be observed and insisted on, is the orderly following of warre, or proceeding in it. In which we must begin with preparation of all things fitting, as Souldiers, Armes, Money, Munition, Victuals, and the rest. What circumspection Princes ought to haue in vvar the book of God teacheth us. *What King go-*
ing

Luk. 14. 13.
 Longa pre-
 paratio belli
 celerem fa-
 cit victoriā.
 Chrysost.
 Pacis tem-
 pore exerci-
 tatio tyro-
 num non
 negligenda.
 Longa secu-
 ritas pacis,
 &c. Lib. 1.
 cap. 28.

ing to warre against another King, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able, &c. A long preparation (saith one) maketh a speedy victory. Yea, in our greatest peace, or ease, we should be fitting for warre. A good note of Theoderic King of the Gothes; Let a souldier learn while hee is at ease, that which may stand him in stead when he is in fight. Long peace (saith Vegetius) breedeth deep security; security neglect of Armes; whereon followeth (saith the same Author) a dissembled shew, or bare flourish of Armes, and last of all the true use of Armes falleth in utter oblivion. The truth hereof by relation of antiquity, and late experience, is manifest. The twenty yeares peace of the Romanes, after the first punick warre, together with their ease and victories, and disuse of Arms; did so enervat their skill and courage, that they were not able to stand before Hannibal, in the second punick vvar: Insomuch, that till by the losse of many Captains, and many Armies, they redeemed their use of Armes and skill in fight, they never got the victory. As for late experience, look upon the Germans, who, as Isidore saith, haue their name from their war-like stature; who for their prowess in Armes haue been admired, and extolled highly by the Casars of the vworld; yea, who haue eternized their names by vindicating the Gospell of Christ, and the professors thereof from that man of the Popes right hand, Charles the 5; whose forces they did not onely foile, but quashed the courage, and brake the heart of him that was not easily daunted; yet for all this (without contumely be it spoken) through their long injoyed peace, their plenty, disuse of Armes, and want of exercise, they are become the scorn of the Turke, and are like to be made a prey to him that casteth at all.

Applica-
 tion.

Quid nos
 decipimus?
 non est ex-
 trinsecus

But to come home to our selues; I may say with Seneca, Why deceine we our selues? This evill we speake of, is not a forraign, but a domestick evill, not without us, but within our bowels. From use of Armes, we are come to neglect, and

And to palliate our neglect with shews. Oblivion is the last degree, in which I fear vve are gone too farre. Neither would I goe so farre in opening of the dore, to let the enemy look in, but that I know he is already in our bosome. For the *Roman Dog*, and the *Spanish Linx*, haue so profited in the optic Art, that by the help of *Risnerus* his glasse, they can see into our houses, what *Armes we haue*; and into the *Fields*, what *skill we want*. We are just like unto *Seneca* his old blinde woman, vvho vvvas starke blinde, but vvould not belecue it: but in this, vve are vvorse then she (as he saith) *For she vvould haue one to leade her, but we vvill not suffer our selues to be led*. Our bodily Leaders are like *Oysters in May*; and they say to our spirituall Leaders, *prophecie not*.

nostrum malum intra nos est, ad Lucel. ep. 50.

Cæci ducem quæ uis, nos tamen sine duce erramus.

But to goe on; As preparation and fitting of souldiers is necessary; so with Victuals and Armes, and other necessities they are to be fitted. An Army without provision, as *Quintus Flaminius* said of *Philopomenes* his Army, *hath legs and armes, but hath no belly*. To this effect one said well, *That bee that vvill shape this beast must begin vvith the belly*. Therefore (saith *Vegetius*) *diligent care should be had of maintenance*. He giveth a good reason, *Ferro seuior fames est; hunger is sharper then the sword*. It was well considered of *Theodoric*, that an Army in want cannot obserue discipline. *Cæsar*, *Adrian*, and other Emperours, and Roman Generals, had a speciall care that due maintenance should not be wanting to the Souldiers.

Provision necessary.

Pict. A. poth. Gasser Col. Igni Admirall of France.

Antequâ inchoetur bellum de copiis, expensisq; solers debet esse tractatus, lib. 3. cap. 3.

And as for Armes they had a special care, that none should come into the hands of any that might annoy them. And therefore by the constitution of *Martian* the Emperour to *Aulus*; or as some, to *Constantine* the Treasurer, it was enacted, that neither, Marchant, nor Souldier, upon any pretence whatsoever, should sell, or exchange, any peece of Arms, or matter wherof Arms are made, upon pain of confiscation of his goods, and losse of his head. Yet notwithstanding of this streight charge, and watchfull care,

Disciplina nam non potest seruari in armis exercitus, Cos. sid 1:4.

Nil prorsus ferri vel fieri debet in fide lib. ult.

some treacherous fellows and runawayes, betrayes of the State (*such as our Romanists be*) were now and then, conveying their Armes to their enemies; by the which (as *Herodian* observeth) they sustained great hurt and damage.

Applicatio.

God grant we be not so served with our Ordinance. What universall hurt and damage brought he to all Christendome, that taught the Great Turke the use and making of Ordinance? What evill some of Gods people; yea, our neerest and dearest friends, haue sustayned by our conveyed Ordinance; Or what evils our selues may sustain, we know not. Yet this we know, that we haue as good Laws in that behalfe as others haue: but the maxime proveth true. *Silent leges inter arma.* It is not unknown to all, that knoweth any thing in State busineses, how the State was gulled, by a great Ones transporting of Ordinance *with a double Bore.* Which being complained of in Parliament, was put off by that *little great Statist*, that it was a *Mysterie of State.* *Richard* of England was slain vvith an Arbalist, the use whereof he had shewed to the French. It was a good *blunt saying*, of *Blunt* the Master, to the Kings Majestie at Chatton. *That it stood him upon it, to looke to his Ordinance, for they were his walles of brasse.*

A peal to
the Parlia-
ment.

I would I could ring a peal of complaint that might make all your ears tingle; by rubbing up your memories. It is not unknown how *Gondomar*, that craftie Marchant, who lay here to buy and sell our State, did by the grant Papiests his factors, get up about some 400 chests of Ordinance, which he sent away in a fortnight. This he did when he lay in Barbican, in the year of our Lord 1618. Add to these the 500 Truncks heavie laden, sent from the Embassadors house; the many brasse peeces of Ordinance; the 30000 Muskets conveyed to Rome. What meant the Archduke, when a little before the Gun-powder Treason, by his forces at Dover, he bought up all the gun-powder in Kent? Yea, what shall I say of our *home bred Harpies*, who have got

got the most part of our Armes into their hands, that thereby they might serue the enemy and undo us? What meant he, that some two moneths before the powder-plot, did beg of his Majestie all the refuse Armour and Artillery (as he called it) in the Tower, which vould haue served to haue inarmed some 16 or 17 thousand men? I verily beleue that the devill might haue had it for money. That Marshall, or rather Marre-all, that sent away two ships laden with Artillery, vvas passed over with a little imprisonment; or, *Why did you so my son?* If this vvill not awake you, I fear the clattering of your own Armes shall awake you. Besides the danger, I appeal to your conscience if the like was ever suffered in any Nation that meant not to play the Sybarites, vvherein the crowing of a Cock, much lesse the sound of a trumpet might not be heard. But the Lord in mercy awake you.

CHAP. XI.

Gods presence first of all to be sought.

THVS as you haue heard; being fitted with men and means, as they can, they are to proceed to the war, be it defensue or offensue: but observing this in the first place, that if they mean to prosper, they must take God vvith them; and that not barely, by his Generall Providence, as he is vvith all, both good and bad; but also by his particular presence: which Moses, the great Commander of Israel, aboue all things desired; yea, nothing yvill content him but this, as appeareth by that expostulation that he makes with God. *If thy presence goe not vvith us, carry us not up hence.* Where he intreateth God, that hee would not onely goe before them, by the presence of his power, as he did to the

Take
God vvith
you, if you
mean to
prosper

Exo. 33.19

Esa. 45. 1. 2. **Heathen** when he imployed them in his service, as of *Cyrus*, *I will goe before thee, and make the crooked straight.* But that he would be with them by the loue of his countenance; or otherwise, it would be better for them to remiane subject to the greatest danger, then to go on without this presence.

Ios. 17. **The truth of this,** plainly appeareth from Gods answer. *Non solum preibo, sed vobiscum ero. Galat.* *I will doe this also which thou hast said.* That is, *I will not onely goe before you, but with you also.* *Moses* had, and all others haue, great reason for this.

Reasons.

2 Sam. 22.
36.

Dent. 1. 30.
2 Sam. 22.
36.

Numb. 14.
14.

2. Cron. 12.
12.

*Applica-
tion.*

First he teacheth his the true Art of war, and instructeth them how to fight, *he teacheth my hands to war*, saith the Prophet *David*, *so that a Bow of Steele is broken by my Armes.* Where one observeth well, that the art of war is commendable; els God would never teach it. So he taught *Iosuah*, *Iobosaphat*, what to doe with their enemies. Secondly, God fighteth for his, and giueth them victory. *The Lord your God* (saith *Moses*) *that goeth before you shall fight for you.* And so he did for them; as for *David* & others: *Thou hast giuen me the shield of salvation*; By which he meaneth good successe. For these and other respects (as I shewed) God is called an *Excellent Warriour*. Thirdly, without Gods presence, nothing goeth well; yea, victory where this is wanting is no better then the foyle, because it is in judgement. The *Israelites* went up against the *Amalekites*, but how? *The Lord was not amongst them*; and they prospered accordingly. But by the contrary, Gods presence was the strong rocke of *Abiahs* confidence against *Ieroboam* and his great forces. In reckoning up the mercies of God towards them, in his ordinances, his priests, and true worship of the true God (all which *Ieroboam* wanted) he bindeth up all with this, *and behold* (saith he) *God himselfe is with us for our Captaine.* Where observe, the note doth denotate the excellencie of this; *that it is all in all to haue God to be their Leader.*

I presse this point the rather, because it is the center from whence all the lines of warres prosperitie haue their beginning,

ning: A truth acknowledged by the most, but by the most
little regarded. For by some it is altogether neglected; and
others by their carriage, declare that in shew onely they
seeme to respect it. The *Matchiavillian-blush-colour* of the
times, hath put the desire of Gods presence so far out of re-
quest, that it is counted a *coolour scarce* worthy of a great
souldier: Doth *Liola* his brood set God before their eyes in
their warres; or doe they not rather fight against God: If
things goe crosse, they are ready with *Julius the second*, their
father, blasphemously to cast off God, by way of contempt.
In the battle of *Ravenna*, on Easterday, betweene him and
the French, as he sate by the fire, reading of his prayers, and
having newes of the defeate, hee flung away the booke say-
ing, that *which I am afraid to relate*. Iudge how much this
monster did esteeme Gods presence. I wish of God, that
the mayntainers of the Lords Battels would esteeme it
more then they doe; for then it should goe better with
them then it doth. They may say, and that truely with *Abijah*
against *Ieroboam*, they haue Gods owne ordinances, the true
Ministers of God, the true worship of God; yea and Gods
owne cause in their hand. Why then, as *Rebecca* said, *is it for*
What want they for victorie? surely an earnest desire, vvith
an ansvverable courage, that God himselfe would be vvith us
for our Captaine. Our failing in this maketh him often for-
sake his ovvne cause, which if he should not respect, he might
quite leaue us.

I presume to speake freely, yet friendly. The evill must be
felt before it be removed. The Israelites did so forfeit this
presence, that he absolutely denyed to let them haue it any
further, *I will not goe up in the midst of thee*. One reason
because they vvere a stiffnecked people: But how vvere
they affected vvhen they heard these evill tydings? *They*
mourned, and no man put on him his ornaments. Where observe,
as, by the force of the reason, the threatening concerneth
us; so it standeth us upon, to be affected and humbled by the
threat-

*Sit ergo
Gallus in
nomine
diabolorum.
Ex Anna-
libus Gallis*

*Insensibile
incurabile.
Ex. 33. 3. 4.*

*Si dii vo-
luerint.
Expedi-
tio in Dei no-
mine.
Sacrificere
ante egres-
sionem.
Herodian.
lib. 6.*

*Beati esse
hominem
Deo fruen-
tem sicut
oculus luce.
Lib 8. de
Civ. Dei.*

threatning as they were. Though the Lord had promised to send his Angell to cast out the nations before them, & to giue them the good land, yet all this, without Gods familiar presence, would not content them. Oh that this mind were in us, and that wee could moue as they did; & he would be intreated to goe with us, as he went still with them at *Moses* entreatie. If wee will but look upon the practise of the heathens in this particular, it may make us ashamed of our neglect. Having prepared their forces, their Edicts for setting forth, were given out in the name of *their gods*, to whom before they went forth, they preformed all religious services: yea, they had such an esteeme of the tutelar gods of nations, that they held them invincible, except their gods should forsake them; which made all the foolish nations, exceeding carefull to keepe and please their foolish gods; and their enemies as diligent to inveigle them. As it is reported of *Diomedes* and *Vlisses*, who inticed out the *Trojan Palladium*. So the *Talmudists* and *Cabalists* fable of *Moses*, that he should overcome *Amonino*, the God or intelligence (for so they call nationall gods) of the *Egyptians*; The *Platonists* could say (as *Austin* witnesseth) that that man was happy who inioyed God, as the eye doth the light. If thus the blind heathens, did toyle themselves to please their mouldy gods, or rather devills, heaping sorrow on their own soules; and if *Rome* yet, take so much paines with her *Bellona*, for the successe of warre; how should wee labor, to haue his presence with us, who is the God of all the world, who needs not our keeping (save onely by faith) but he will keepe us, and make the hearts of the *Canaanites* to melt; yea the joints of every *Balthazzer*, that is drunke with the whoores cup to tremble and shake? Therefore let us never cease nor giue the Lord rest, till wee haue his familiar presence with us.

CHAP. XII.

Of depriving the Enemy of all Means.

THE V S. an Army having got his presence, may go on with *Iosuah* and be couragious; yet vvithall no secondary mean must be neglected. And first of all, a people must look to maintayne what they haue already in possession; & that especially by fortifying all places of strength, vvhereunto they may bring all their victuals and other substance. And that for tvvo causes, as *Vegetius* vvell observes. The first, that if they be beseiged they may want no necessaries. The second, that the beseiger may eyther be forced to fight with disadvantage, or to returne home with disgrace. This the Romanes gaue in charge to their subjects, and appointed officers to see it done. *Cesar* gaue the like charge upon the same grounds to the *Vbiij. G. Marius*, as *Plutarch* reporteth, put this also in practise. The *Walles of Bisantium* and *Saguntum* vvere very strong, as vvce reade in *Dio*: and *Livi*: yet the *Lacedonians*, held it a point of vvorth to haue no vvalls but the citticens valour, and so they did inhabite unvvalled citties, as *Plutarch* in *Apotheg*. Divers are the judgements of Philosophers in this point. *Aristotle* refuteth this opinion of the *Lacedonians* vvith *Plato* his defence of the same, as very incommodious to a common-vvealth. And so it is indeed: for vvhy should men expose themselves and theirs to more danger then needs, or presume so much upon their ovvne valour, as to neglect so good meanes, vvwhich indeed saveth often a great deale of bloud that otherwise should be shed? Yet this much I will say, except valour maintayn the *Walles*, and sin be cast over the *Walles*, and God watch the cittie, a

*Omne
aluminium
virtus intra
muros de-
bent studio-
sissime con-
locare.*

*Veget. lib. 4.
cap. 7.*

*Qui frumē-
tum vō ha-
bet vincitur
sine ferro.
Cesar sexto
bello gallico*

*Lib. 7. de
optima reip.*

Plant.

Et que op-
portari ne-
quierint
exurenda.
Veget.

wall of brasse is but a vaine thing. To this effect speaketh the Comite. *Si incola bene sint morati, pulchre munitam arbitror, at nisi invidia avaritia, ambitio, &c. Exulenti, centuplex murus parum est.* Yea, whatsoever cannot be got, or containd within the strength, is to be consumed with fire, that it may not serue the enemy. Such was Sampsons practise in burning of the corne. Yea the townes themselves, as warriours relate, haue been, by the defendents set on fire. As for instance, twenty of the *Bituriges*, that they should not come into the enemies hands. As for the rayling of the trenches, with their dimensions of depth and bredth, together with other workes, for holding themselves, and annoyance of the enemy, I leaue them to their present occasions, & the particular Masters in that Art.

CHAP. XIII.

War must be as well Offensive as Defensive.

FVrther when they haue thus fitted themselves for defence, they must alwayes know, that the nature of war requireth, that it be as well offensive as defensive, and that diversion of forces doth often helpe, where direct opposition prevayleth not. A war meerly defensive, where they may offend, is worse then yeelding at the first; for it inureth the assailant to cunning and courage, and it driveth the defendant, from good opportunities, to desperate conditions. Neyther doth it a whit abate the crueltie of the enemy, in whose heart is the roote of bitterness, and in whose care the trumpet of destruction is ever sounding this: *exurge arripe. Revenge thy selfe upon thine enemies.* Yea barely to defend, without laying hold on every opportunitie of offence, is against the rules of the Art militarie, the nature of war, and the practise of good souldiers. It is a main rule in warre,

what-

Whatsoever doth advantage the enemy, it hurteth thee. Therefore thou shouldest doe all that may advantage thy selfe and hurt him. Againe, the body of vvar, requireth as much of-
 fence, to accompany defence; as the naturall body requi-
 reth for its actions, a right hand and a left; or, as the right
 hand and the left, require in fight, a sword and buckler: To
 the which Tully alludeth, speaking of *Marcus Caelius*, who *Bonā dex-*
could accuse well, but defend meanly. He hath a good right hand, *tram inquit,*
 (saith he) but a naughty left hand. So he that faileth in offending *sed malam*
 of his enemy, and cleaveth close to his own defence, hath *sinistram*
 a good left hand, and a naughty right hand. Yea, the very *habet.*
 words of Military Art, doth joyn these two inseparably to-
 gether; with them the word *defend*, doth not barely sig- *Defendere*
 nifie to *resist*, but also to abandon the enemy by all meanes *pro arcere*
 they can from further assaying: So *Vegetius*, *Cæsar*, *Tully*, and *latinissima*
 others, useth the word. So from this signification, the armed *dicitur.*
 horie were called *Cataphræti*; *equites defensores*; not onely
 for defending of the rest, but also for breaking of the ene-
 mies forces: *Virgil* useth the vword in the same sense, though *Selsitium*
 in another case; *To drive away, or to put farre off.* He that *pecori defē-*
 would defend well at home, must learn to offend abroad. *dite, id est,*
depellite.
 A good Warriour in this kind must be like the *Amphibena*,
 having a head on each side; for devising as well how to of- *εμπιδω*
 fend, as defend; and with every part of his body, on the *καὶ ἄνω*
 right hand, and on the left, he must lay about him to make *δω.*
 good his designes.

Lastly, that it hath been the constant practise of the best
 and skilfullest souldiers, it is undeniable. *Abraham* did
 not onely reskue his Nephew, and his neighbours, vvith
 their goods and children, but also pursued the Kings and
 smote them, and took the spoyl: vvhich the Lord did vvell
 approue on; as appeareth by the vvords of *Melchizedeck* in
 the blessing of him. I might cite the examples of *Moses*,
Ioshua, and the rest of the Iudges, and of the Israelites war
 against their enemies; but this vvere to light a candle at

Gen. 14. 15

noon day, to men of learning and experience : For it is more then manifest, that this hath been the design and practise of all the worlds great Generals.

As for the diverting of the enemies forces, obserue that example of *Scipio*, vvhose counsell prevailed vwith the Romans against *Cato*, to send forces into *Aphrick* : vvhich proved exceedingly to the Romans good ; for hereby the Carthaginians vv ere forced to call back *Hannibal* out of Italy, and of an offensive vvar to make a defensiu e.

Application. As this principle is vv ell known ; so I vvould our vvorthy Warriours, in the beginning of these Christian vvarres had answered their knowledge vwith their practise. For the Lord made the hearts of *their enemies to melt*, and their soules to faint at the hearing of them ; but perceiving they kept their right hand in the bosom, and held onely forth the left, they took them time for mature deliberation, in the vv hich they got up forces and courage together, knowing vv ell, that the bucklars in their enemies left hands, might vv ell receive blowes for a time, but they could giue none. This vv as the very beginning of our evill, out of vv hich, much dishonour to God, trouble to his Church, and perill to his Saints hath risen. Of vv hom this left-handed-counsell came, I leaue to those that know it ; but this we all know, it proved a *left-handed-counsell*. God giue us grace hereby to proue *Epimethei*,, if vve could not proue *Promethei*.

*His origi
nalli,*

CHAP. XIII.

Of the safe leading of the Forces.

BUT to proceed vwith the rest of the warlike proceedings. As Generals must leade on their forces, at their appointed

appointed times, for their service; so they must look vvell to the safety of the vvaies by the vvch they leade them.

The learned, and experienced in Arms, doe vvell obserue, that there be more dangers in the vvaies, through vvch they March, then in the very front of the battle. The same Author quoted giues a reason: *While they are in conflict they are fitly armed, prepared, and appointed to fight; they see their enemies before them: but in the way, they are subiect to the contrary of all these.* Therefore the Romans, besides their Geographical tables, they had their *Viewers* and *Tryers* of the waies, which went before to cleare all the passages, that by the enemies they might not at unawares be surprized. *Iulius Caesar* would never lead his forces, nor suffer them to be led through any dangerous waies, without exact discovery of the danger. The neglect of this gaue *Sp. Posthumius* the Consul, with all his forces, an ignominious foil by the *Caudini*. *Plura in lib. neribus quā in ipsa acie pericula.*

Perlustratores.

Sueton.

Livius Florus.

CHAP. XV.

The manner of safe Incamping.

AS the waies for safe passage are to be secured, so a care must be had of incamping the forces. The Camp is the *Eitie* of the souldier, be he never so great. The Israelits being numbred, had their charge to incamp about the Sanctuary; that is, to place themselves in a warlike order and government. *The sonnes of Israel shall incamp every man by his Numb. 2.2 Standard, &c.*

The Israelites had indeed two sorts of Camps, one for the managing of their warres, and another when they pitched about the Arke. The forme of the former was round, as appeareth by the phrase of speech, expressing

1 Sam. 17.

20.

Mebagalab

εργον

Λεγει.

Si principes

Græcie esse

vultis, ca-

stris est vo-

bis attendi

non pale-

stra.

2 Sam. 11.

31.

pressing *David's* comming up to the Camp of the Israelites, ready to joyn battell with the Philistims. The word by divers, is diversly taken; yet amongst all, it doth properly signifye the round compasse or circuit invironed, with the campe and carriage. And so the *Septuaginta*, in another place doe well expresse it, by a word that signifieth *rotunditie*, called by some, *pilata acies*; Within the compasse wherof, the King, in the middle of his Host did lie, for his better security. The form of the latter was foure square, as you may see by the description of it in the second of *Numbers*; but in both they were placed in a military order. And it is likewise cleer, that both the Generall and the Souldiers kept the Camp. *Saul* was alwaies in the Camp, and so was *Moses* and *Iosuah*, and the rest of Israels Generals. *Epaminondas* that great Captain is much magnified by *Æmilius Probus*, for that speech to the *Ephori*, worthy of a noble Generall indeed.

If you will be Princes of Greece indeed, you must be in your Camps, and not seeing sports and recreation. All should be of this mind, that warre for the Lord of Hosts. The Campe is the fittest place, the safest place, and the place of greatest honour. *Vriah* rendreth this reason to *David*, of his not going home to his own house: That *Ioab* his Lord General was in the field with the Host of Israel, and the Ark of God, and shall I then goe to mine house, to eat, drink, &c. No: as thou livest, and as thy soule liveth, I will not doe this thing. All this he might haue done, but in regard of the common danger, it was more time to think on God, and his service, then to take his ease and liberty in things otherwise lawfull. It had also been better for *David* himselfe to haue been there, then upon the top of his house; for thereby hee might haue been preserved from a multitude of sinnes, saved a multitude of soules from death, and Gods name from a great deal of blasphemy.

It followeth in incamping, what things are to be lookt into. And first, for the formes of the Campes, which with the

the Israelites, I haue shewed to be round, which of all is the most perfect, and therefore the most capacious forme. This is fittest for them that would obscure their forces, and haue them seeme lesser. But there be other formes or figures used, as quadrangular to make them seeme bigg; triangular for a bigger shew; and halfe round for the biggest shew of all. But to a be brief; according to the nature of the place, the qualitie of the service, the shew they would make, and the necessitie of occurrences, they may fashion, or change the fashion of their Campes to their best advantage.

Front. loci qualitas, aut necessitas postulationis. Veget. lib. 1. cap. 23.

It is likewise meete that a camp be fortified, witnes the practise of the Israelites with their Cartes and baggage. Amongst the heathens *Pirrhus* is said to be the first that deuised the fortifying of a Campe, whom the Romanes overcoming, they possessed his Campe, and seeing the order of it, they were content to imitate the same: As *Frontine* witnesseth.

Frontin. lib. 4. cap. 1.

As for the place it selfe; the sweetnesse of the ayre, the fertilitie of the soyle, and the advantage of the ground, should be sought for as much as may be. At least this must be looked to, that they leaue not a better place to the enemy, then they haue chosen for themselves. The advantage of the ground is holden a main helpe for commodions encamping; which, how much the higher, so much the better. As it is better for encamping, so likewise for ioyning battle; witnesse the testimonie of *Livi*, *Frontine*, *Cesars* victories, and others by this meanes. Take for instance that remarkable victory against *Pharnaces*, *Mithridates* his sonne; who notwithstanding of inequality of place, put *Cesar* and his forces so to their valour, that all was litle enough: with *Cesars* owne experience and testimonie, wee haue his continuall care, to take and keepe this advantage; the great moment whereof doth manifest it selfe by this, that both the Armies contending for it, haue begun their fight for the possessing of it. Of the further ordering of those things spoken of,

Primum auxilium ex loco, quod tanto utilior quanto superior. Veget. lib. 3. cap. 13.

Præter virtutem locus adiuuat. Plini. lib. 7.

*Præfetti
castrorum.*

or any other particular for the weal of encamping, I will say no more, but refer them to the carefull industry, and industrious skill of the Camp Masters.

CHAPT. XVI.

The Fixing of the Coulours.

*Et signa
constituunt
lib. 1. cap.
23.*

THE Campe thus being fitly seated, the ensignes or colours are therein to be fixed. The word used by *Stachius* well expresth the action: for the *Ensigne-staffe* being sharpe at the lower end was fixed fast into the ground. And this must needs be materiall in war; because God gave this in particular in charge to his people. *The Sonnes of Numb. 2.* *Israel incampe every man by his standard.* Againe in the colours a great deale of majestie, matter of command and conservation of order is alwayes implied. Thus much is well exprest in the *Chaldee* word *Tekes*, a Standard, alluding to the Greeke vvord *Taxis*, vvhich as it signifieth any order, so *Kathexochen*, or by vvay of excellencie, that excellent ordering of vvay. As for the Majesty begetting due regard in the eyes of the souldiers; *there is nothing more venerable* (saith one) *in the eyes of souldiers then the Majesty of the colours.* Yea it appeareth most in this, that our blessed Saviour is called by the name of an Ensign. *In that day the roote of Jesse shall stand for an Ensigne of the people.* The vvvhich prophesie the Apostle to the Romanes, expoundeth by that commanding povver that is in the Ensigne. *The roote of Jesse shall rise to raigne over the gentiles.* Doth not the Armie march or stand as their colours Command them? Further, the noble souldier, loues not his life unto death, in regard of the colours. A memorable instance wee haue of this, in that battle of *Tarquinius* king of the *Romanes*, against the *Sabines*. Where *Servius Tullius* a gallant sparke

*Nil venerabilius est
eorum majestate militibus.
Cælius lib. 3*

Isa. 11. 10

Chap. 15. 12

Sparke, perceiving the Ensignes to grow cold in the fight, he snatcheth the colours out of the Ensignes hand, & flings them in the middle of the enemies, for the recovery whereof both the Ensigne himselfe, and the whole forces, did so charge the enemy, that they gayned both their colours and the victory. You may reade many other examples in the place quoted. In the last place, I may ad, that as the colors are stately to their Armies, so they are terrible to the enemy, as appeareth by that metaphore, used by the spirit in that spiritual battle of the Church against the devill, & all her other enemies, *Christ saith, his Spouse is terrible as an Army of banners.* And so much for the generall. Frontin: Strat. lib. 2. cap. 8. Cant. 6. 4.

Now to giue a touch of the particular colours. Every Company had their owne particular colours, with some significant signe in them, for distinction and instruction. As amongst the *Romans*, the Legionarie, Auxillarie and Pretorian companies had divers colours. So the 12 tribes, had their twelve distinct colours, with significant signes in them; But the particularities of their colours, were left to their choyce, and what they were the scripture doth not expresse. The *Rabbins* tell us that *Reuben* had a man, *Juda* a Lion, *Ephraim* an Oxe, and *Dan* an Eagle, together with their distinct colours and empresses. The chiefe amongst the *Romanes* was the Eagle, but they had others, to the number of thirty. The same libertie of choyse is left now to the discretion of the Commander Generall; who in his choyse is to take heed to 3 things. First, that his colours be voide of crueltie. The *Angels* carry in their colours, the most excellent creatures, but the persecuters of the Church, described by *Daniel*, haue their colours embellished with crueltie, as the *Beare* hauing 3 ribbes in his mouth, the *Leopard* with 4 heads. The fourth monster with *Iron* teeth, tearing all the rest in peeces. The *Dragon* was one of ancient *Romes* chiefe colours, and the Companie *draconarij milites*, were under the same. As *Rome* hath, and doth make warr with *Christ* in his members:

οφις ει
μη Φαλη
οφιν δρα-
κων & γε-
νησεται.

Plin. lib. 8.
14.

So the Frogges of Egypt, march under the same colours; and they may be called *Draconarij milites*, or *Dragons* themselves. First for their originall, for as the Dragon is a kind of Serpent, which must eat up another Serpent, before it be a Dragon; and the originall of the Dragon in the *Romane* colours was from the death of the Serpent *Pithon*; so the *Iesuites* must in their trayning up in *Ignatius* his Conclau, be fed with nothing but Serpents (as that Indian maid sent to *Alexander*, was fed with nothing but poyson) while they come to be flying, fiery and bloody dragons. Secondly, for their preying they are never satisfied, *Julian* and *Valence*, both Roman Emperours, caused the Priests and religious persons to be booke, and to serue in war: which company they called *sacram cohortem*, the *holy band*; so these be the Popes *holy band*, who having the Dragon for their colours, haue spread themselves in Mountains and Valleys. And as they haue deuoured others even at their dores; so through our own default, they are like to make us as much a doe, as that monstrous Dragon made *Attilius Regulus* at the river *Bagrada* in the punick warre, who hardly with his whole Army could overcome it. But would to God that the Kings Majestie would doe as he did, for the safety of himselfe and us, that is, either send themselves, or their skins to *Rome*. A second thing to be observed, that no idoll, nor badge of superstition be inblased in the Colours. The *Babylonish* Banners, sent to the Popes bewitched Vassals for waging war with the Turke, hath made Gods inheritance a prey to him, and the name of God to be blasphemed by the uncircumcised. Can God and idols joyn together? And howsoever, for our finnes, God for a time hath forsaken his inheritance, and the *Babylonians* are got into it; yea, they display their banners in his own inheritance, and roare in the midst of the Sanctuary: yet God will return, and set his feet upon the Dragon, & require, with vengeance, the blood of his Saints.

Applicatio

The last thing in the colours to be looked to is this, that the

The significative sign in the colours may give some good instruction, without superstition. It is a foule fault in us professing Christ, to give the badge of the beast in our colours, and to use the name of a *Chimera Saint* in our joyning battle.

CHAP. XVII.

The Matter of the Camp.

BUT now it is time to come to speak of the persons that must make up and manage this Camp. In every Army there must be a chiefe Generall to command, and Soldiers to obey. And first for the Generall, his personall qualities, and officiall indowments, should alwaies answer the greatnesse of his place: Such God gaue to his people, as *Moses, Iosua, Gideon, Sampson, David*; yea, when he gaue them *Saul* for a King, and a Leader, though it was in his wrath, yet he fitted him for the place with excellency of gifts: take view of this in the first of *Sam. 13*, chapter, comparing the first, sixth and ninth verses. In the first verse, *the Lord anointed him to be Captain over his inheritance*, for then the people of God had warre with their enemies: In the sixth verse, *the spirit of the Lord should be upon him, and he should be turned to another man*: In the ninth verse see this accomplished, *God gaue him another heart*; not for all this, that he had one sparke of saving grace, for he was a reprobate. But God by these, sheweth what excellent common gifts hee afforded him for so great a calling, as magnanimity, depth of iudgment, Princely behaviour. And in this sense, in the sixth verse, the Lord is said to be *with him*. I presse this point the rather; because as from the head, as from a fountain, the body hath life and action: so in the sufficiency of a Leader con-

sists the safety of the Armie, the gaying of the victory, the glory of the Nation, and the honour of himselfe.

The necessity of a good Generall.

Vnius viri virtus interdum exercitum servabit & ducet
Dialog. 62.
Imperator didici Plutarch. in A-potheg.

To this purpose, historie is so plentifull, that instead of a taste, I could afford a whole Treatise, but the draught of my knot requireth such variety, that it will admit but a few flowers of every kind. Petrarch well observeth that

the valour of one man (meaning the Leader) hath often saved both himselfe and the Army. Commanding is an excellent Art, of which Iphycrates, and that deservedly, did glory much; I have learned (saith he) to command. Pausanias, being asked how they might vanquish the Thracians; If you (saith he) make choice of a good Generall. And such indeed was himselfe, whose last words to this effect, I thought good to commend to your memory. Having received his death wound in the Mantinean fight, being brought into his Tent, hee called for Diaphantus and Iollida, two braue Captains, whom when he understood to be slain in the battle, he counsell'd them to leaue of war, because they had never

Plutarch. in Apotheg.

a Generall: which counsell, as they did not follow, so they felt the smart of it. The inequality of the Leader casts the ballance of the service. When Pompey was yong, and a raw Captain; Sertorius made havock of his forces, and esteemed himselfe but a boy to be whipt, but when the old

Idem in Sertor. vita.

Wife Metellus came, (for so he called him) he gaue him enough to doe. It was a pretty, and a wittie answer, that a yong Numantine gaue the Senate, reviling them for flying before the Romans, whom they had so often put to flight: The case is altered (quoth he) for though they be the same sheep, yet they haue got them a new Pastor (meaning Scipio.) Caesar made no account of Afranius, his forces, because (saith he) they want a Leader. That politique Generall Phillip would say; That hee had rather haue an Army of Harts, with a Lyon to their Leader, then an Army of Lyons with a Hart to their Leader. To shut up all these with the censure of Alexander, who for his excellency in this Art, might be called, the Great; Discour-

ling

ing of Homers verses esteemed this aboue all the rest. ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὅτι
 that it is required in a good king, that he be also a worthy war-
 our. And this made kings account it no small dignitie to σίλῳ
 made their forces themselves, putting life and courage to ἀγαθὸς
 their subjects and souldiers. Yea, as it quickens valour so it κρατερός
 maketh cowardise to be ashamed. Thus did the good kings τῶν Χρη-
 Iuda: Gaius Fabricius, when he heard of the overthrow of τῆς.
 the Romanes given by Pirrhbus, he turned him to Labienus, Pir- Iliad. γ
 hus saith he, hath got the victory, and not the Epinots, meaning
 that the worth of the Leader carried the victory. To omitt
 other instances looke but on this practise in our Brittain
 kings, our Edwards, Henries, Richards, Malcomes, Robert, James,
 the fame of whose victories, and heroick prowesse is ro-
 downed through the world.

The time putteth us on to cry to God for worthy Leaders; Reasons.
 for first they are the diamond of the State; & such a blessing as
 for their sakes manie times the State was delivered. And when
 the Lord rayssed them up Iudges, then the Lord was with the
 Iudge. Secondly, the want of such laid the people open to
 all impietie, and the rage of the enemies, Iudg. 2. 19. Besides
 that, it was a manifest token of Gods wrath against them.
 Iudges 17. 6. Thirdly, this is the height of all peoples ambi-
 tion, except they be given up to a Sybaritical securitie; Yea,
 Gods greatest enemies are carefull and circumspect in this,
 to the damage and disgrace of Gods people, being not so
 carefull and circumspect in this point. Our defect is rather
 in want of care, then in want of able persons. Let the Philis-
 tim bragge of his Goliath, and the Spaniard of his Viriatus; yet
 they shall well know ere they haue done, that Gods people
 haue both a courageous Pompey, and a Graue Metellus, that will
 cate them home to their owne dores. Mee thinke they
 should eyther blush or tremble, to thinke upon the name of
 that ever victorious Sisca. Charles the fift, was as a great soul-
 tier as any they had, and yet he was so mated by the valour
 of Germany, that his heart failed him cleere, from setting up

The euill
of an ill
leader.

πατορ
τοῖς ὁμοῖς
ἀναίμακτον
ταῖς.

Alium de-
rioriorem in-
veniri posse
nullam, at
hunc me-
ruisse Con-
stantinopo-
litanorum
vitia.

One chife
Comman-
der in war.
Plurimum
imperium
bello semper
inutile est.
Stach. pag.
113.
lib. 4. 5.

Lib. 31.
Lib. 30. ad-
versat:

for another game. Lastly, as the want of a good is the want
of a common-wealth; so the having of an ill one the
greatest unhapines. It may be said of an ill leader, as it is said
of an ill Lawyer, *he is a plague to the common-wealth*, such a one
is an ill Leader. Yea, the very stampe & scale of Gods wrath
So God gave the Israelites Saul in his wrath. Cedrenus writes
how a religious man in the raging of Phocas, did expostulate
the matter with God by way of complaint, why he would
set such a wicked tyrant over Christians. It is said he heard
voice answering (but saw nothing) *They had him because never*
a worse could be found; and this they had deserved for their sinnes.
Concerning this point, it is further to be observed, that as
chiefe Commander is necessary, so there must be but one.
It is an axiom of very good use. *The chiefe command of more*
then one in warre is ever hurtfull. Vpon this ground where
any consull being Generall did leave a Legate in his place,
he had his full power to his returne, which the Consull re-
turning did resume, & the Legates place was altogether void.
Livi discovereth the euill that commeth upō the joint com-
mand of more, from that example of more Tribunes ioyntly
in command, and authorized with popular power. The same
Author relateth the like of two Consulls, *Paulus*, and *Varro*,
whose contrarietie of judgemēt, in a matter of weight, made
great dissention in the Army. *Paulus*, for his time, at no hand
would haue the passe the river, *Varro* the next day without
consulting with his colleague, Commanded the colours to
be advanced. *Turnebus* also observeth from *Livi* and *Polibius*,
that in one Legion there were six Tribunes, whereof each
commanded by turnes for two moneths. But the Romans
perceiving the euill that did insue, from this emulation
of this joint command, did ordayne that the command of all
their forces in one place should be in one supreme Com-
mander, from whom all subordinate officers, should hold
a subordinate command, and to him be accomptable in their
places. The souldier was under the Centurion, he under the

tribune, the Tribune under the Legat, the Legat under the
 Confull, the Confull under the Maister the Horfe, and all
 under the Dictator, who was the highest Officer, and the
 next step to an Emperour. And questionlesse as a Mo-
 narchy in peace is the Head and Chiefe of all governments.
 howsoever accidentally, or through abuse it may become
 the worst.) So it is likewise in war. And for my owne part
 thinke (saving the judgement of the judicious) that the
 power of a worthy Generall, though he be subordinate;
 should be like in commision to the Roman Legates, that is,
 with freedome to deale, as they did, upon occasion, but with
 these cautions, that they should haue a sound and iudicious
 councell, and strictly observe the lawes of Armes. For what
 serveth the head and heart of a Generall, if his hands be tyed.
 He may loose occasion, *being the life of action*, which for
 his heart bloud againe, he cannot redeeme. As I haue often
 thought, much regrated the bad requitall of the *Grecia* Ge-
 nerals, the particulars whereof I shall hereafter touch: so I
 haue thought it the highest point of their unhappines, to be
 over-topt in their doings by a various and unruly multitude.
 What glory they got abroad, it was not onely eclipsed but ex-
 tinguished at home, had *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, *Pausanias* and
Epaminondas, with (whom I will ioyne *Haniball*) been free
 from the countermands and controulments of their hea-
 dy and harebrained States, they had euery one beene likely
 to haue proved a Monarch. And on the contrary, here I must
 take occasion to commend the good temper, and the due re-
 spect of the Romanes to their Generalls, that howsoever
 their government was mixed, yet they were, not of a coalting
 humor towards their Commanders; in this they are secoded
 by the *States of Hollad*, whose due respect to that well deserving
 worthy, the *Prince of Orange*, hath made their Armies terrible
 to the enemies of God, and their flourishing state, a nursery
 of Armes, But so much for this point, wherein I haue taken
 care to be somewhat large, because it is the head peece.

*Dictator a
 perpetua
 via ad im-
 perium.*

*Corruptio
 boni pessi-
 ma.*

*Legati cum
 libero man-
 dato.*

The

Subordi-
nat Com-
manders,
& sould-
diers.

The rest of the parties that make up the Camp are souldiers and subordinat Commanders. As an army without a Leader is like *Poliphemus*, without his eyes, or a great body without a head; so a Generall without fit souldiers, is like a head without a body, or a *Lion* over a company of *Harts*. For fit Commanders a speciall care is to be had, because they are the eyes of the Generall. *Cesar*, *Alexander* & *Philip*, were very happy in their Commanders; so *Edward* the third, the blacke Prince, *Henry* the 5. and *Henry* the 8. Neyther was *General Vere* unhappy in this, at the battle of *Newport*. *Philip* having slept longer then he used to doe in the camp, put it off with this that he slept in safteie, when *Antipater* was awake, shewing thereby that the safteie of a Generall and army consisteth much in the skill and vigilancie of the Captaines.

The integ-
rall parts
of an Ar-
mye.

*Bruc. lib. 4.
cap. 33.*

Lib. 25.

*O si tales
haberem
milites, qui
omnia vul-
nera adversa
haberent.*

*Nec Crimi-
nosus, &c.*

The like necessitie there is of good souldiers. *Iphycrates* giving the integrell parts of an Army, *It must haue*, saith he, *the Phalaux*, or body, for the breast, the wings for the armes, the horse for the feete, & the Generall for the head. *Cesar* made no reckoning of going against *Pompey*, because he was a Generall without an Army: It was *Pyrrhus* his ill lot to want good souldiers, which if he had had, as he was the greatest souldier, both for skill & valour in the world by repute; so he might haue beene the greatest Monarch for possession: for besides that testimonie of *Gaius Fabius*, quoted before of him, *Iustine* erects to him an *encomie* of never dying prayse. His owne speech of the *Romane* souldiers slain in the field is worth the marking; seeing all their woundes in their fore-parts, O, saith he, that I had such souldiers, receiving all their woundes with their faces to the enemies.

It comes in the next place to inquire what souldiers they should be, to which I answered as before, the best that can be had. In the *Romane* warres at first, they were very choyce, as *Vlpian*, and *Flavius Vopiscus*, two great Lawyers doe testifie, no criminous parties, no adulterers, no condemned persons: yea no bondslaves, nor contentions brawlers: but for want of men

or rather through iniquitie of times, as *Vopiscus* observeth, they tooke of all sorts: As *Sheepheards*, *sword players*, *wicked persons*, but as *Livi* observeth, it was in the very pinch of *despayre of the common-wealth*, when *honestie* must give way to *un-
justie*. But now to our shame, sin so aboundeth, & the good are so scarce, that wee must doe that in ordinary, which they did but sometimes on necessitie: But that which followeth in the treatise, and should follow in this service, would mend much, namely *Discipline*.

One thing more the Romanes did observe by their rules of war concerning the souldier; namely, what kind they were, whether forreignes or natives: for those two sorts they had which they called *Auxiliarii* and *Legionarij*. *Vegetius* hath a maxime, that a mixt company from divers places moves a tumult. But *Alexander* found the contrary: for finding the *Macedonians* dayly to incline to sedition, he made mixt Compaines, setting *Persia* Captaines, over them, which made the *Macedonians* leaue of sedicion, & fall to a generous emulation; yet is this to be done as *Polybius* well observeth with great wariness and watchfulness: for if such an Army fall at variance it is impossible to reconcile them. But the Romans themselves had such mixt forces, and used their auxiliaries with great respect, in giving them gold chaynes, when they gaue the legionarie, or their owne but silver chaynes. Yet in this mixture there be cautions to be observed. The first by *Flavius* & *Livi*, agreeable to the rule of *Vegetius*, that there be not more forrayne forces then domestick. Which rule they could not keepe as their owne histories report. For both in the war against the *Vols*, and *Carthaginians*, the *Auxiliarij* were far more then the *Legionarij*. Another caution I add which is the chiefe indeed, that the *Auxiliarie* forces be not such as come meerly upon selfe respects, who many times like mowls so undermin the ground, that they cannot be got out againe; and so such vermine proue worse then the former adversary. A blacke brood of such you see hath over spread

Ad ultimum prope desperata res. auxilium cum, honesta utilibus cedunt.
Lib. 32.

Two sorts of souldiers with the Romans. Movet tantum ex diversis locis collectus exercitus.
lib. 3. cap. 4. Diodor sicul: lib. 17

Cautions for mixture of souldiours

Ne unquam amplior multitudo sociorum.
Lib. 3. cap. 1

the world, whom never a nation will entertaine if they refuse, except it be such a Nation that God hath blinded. The torments of those on whom they are fallen, and the heaue oppression of those that haue sought their protection, can tell what dogged helpers they are. As for the *Auxiliary* forces of the States, it hath been their good hap to haue such as not so much for worldly gain, as for their indeered loue to religion and affection toward their Christian brethren, haue advanced their State and Religion, with their dearest blood: for which I think they will acknowledge (or at least they should) that in mutuall requitall they owe themselves. As for time to come, onely let them beware of the Popes bratts, and they may presume of ours as of their own, upon good usage. Let the battle of *Newport* and *Barganupsoan* witnesse their undaunted valour and fidelity: and as they shall haue occasion further to use them, I hope their actions shall proclaim what the Athenians said in the like case; *We are all Hollanders.*

may be
admirable
suffer.

CHAP. XVIII.

Campe Discipline.

THVS having spoken of the body of a Camp, I come to that which is the very soule of a Camp, namely, *Camp Discipline*: For as the body without a soule, be the portrature never so goodly, is but a carkasse; or as a goodly body animated and actiuated with the soule, yet the soules faculties are either obfuscated with dark and cold melancholy, or set on fire with black burnt choler; so that either nothing is done, or that which is worse then nothing. Such is a goodly Army, except this reasonable soule of

of discipline doe organize the body. *Agisilaus* that great King of the Lacedemonians, having the question put, whether fortitude, or righteousness were the better, answered gravely, that there was no use of fortitude, except it were governed with righteousness. It may well be compared to the first peece of armour, namely, to the girdle of truth; for it tyeth with all the Armes, and all the services in Armes, fast unto the souldiers loynes, in a comely order. In warre it selfe, it is the bond of peace: yea, as that which driveth a stake into the ground, or a peece of wood into another is called the *Commander*; so Discipline driveth the nayle in the Tent, and is the chiefe Commandresse in Martiall affaires; yea, it is the best Physitian for peccant humors; Chyrurgion for wounds and sores; and the onely best bone-setter for fracture or laxation. This is a main key in Church, or Common-wealth, that shutteth out enemies, and intertaineth friends. *Cassiodor* telleth us, that it is the onely fort, and best guard that an Army possibly can haue: and as I said of Cities and townes, so may I say again of a Camp; fortifie it with all the strength and Art that nature can affoord; without discipline it will be but as a paper wall. For, as I haue shewed, the ruin of discipline is the racing out of Armes, and the destruction of a Nation. The learned obserue, that the very name of a Camp implyeth Discipline. *A Campe*, saith *Isidor*, is called *Castrum*; because it should be chaste, and all lewdnesse and lust should be cashiered from it. Yea, as *Tacitus* writeth, the Romane souldiers were interdicted Matrimony, which is the best ground (I take) that the Romish Priests haue against their Marriage; that though it be a Sacrament (as they say) yet the Sacrament of orders barreth them of it, as the military sacrament did bar the souldier. But *Severus* more wisely, & upon better warrant, gaue them free liberty to haue their wiues at home: but *Alexander* permitted them to haue them in their Camps, with their families, after the Persian manner, and so to liue and breed in

*Nullus est
usus forti-
tudinis nisi
iussu iusti-
cia.*

Eph. 6. 14.

*Non alium
de robusti-
us quam
disciplina,
armatur
exercitus
lib. 12.*

*Dicta autē
castra qua-
si casta,
eo quod
ibi castra-
retur libido.
Etymolog.
lib. 9.*

*Annal. 14,
in quo vide
Lipsum.*

*Herodian
lib. 3.*

*Iuvenē ur-
bano luxu
lascivientem
melius est
in castris
haberi lib. 2.
Annal.*

Camps, as the Hollander doth at Sea. Though this proved well for *Alexander*, as every thing did; and though a great many loving wiues, willing to live and die with their husbands, would be of his mind; yet upon mature judgement the middle rule shall prove the best; but I leave it to the scanning of the judicious, and I come again to Discipline. *Sejanus*, as *Tacitus* reporteth, would have Camps remote from Cities, except they did beleagure them, that by the evils of the Cities they might not be corrupted. Yea, the lascivious and disordered youths were brought into the Campes, that by the force of Discipline they might be reclaimed. For as the Synagogue of Rome, and all the lymmes of that confused Babel, liketh nothing worse then the Discipline of Christs Campe: so to the loose *Straticks* of these evill times, there is nothing more contrary, then the medicine of Discipline: A great many therefore had need to be in Camps, if Campes were as they should be, the *schooles of Discipline*.

As the necessitie of this Discipline is evident, from the exorbitancy of corrupt nature, and the evils incident to a militarie life: so it is more then manifest, from Gods own command, concerning the government of the Israelites Camp; wherunto *Moses* and *Ioshua* had a great respect; namely, that Discipline should be exactly exercised, as appeareth in the censure of *Achan*, and others. Yea, the Romans, whose glory was their God, and their Common-wealth their best inheritance, made this the inlarger and maintainer of their Dominions. It was said of *Scipio*, to his great commendation, that hee was the restorer of Discipline, not onely saying, but also neglected among the Romanes; insomuch that hee held it a greater labour to reduce his own forces to Discipline, then to giue battle to the Numantines his enemies; therefore he abandoned all Bauds, Whoores, Coffeners, Coggers, Diviners, and Figure-flingers. And to giue our enemies their due (for the wicked are wise in their own gene-

generation) how admirable hath the Turkes been in the strictnesse of Discipline, I formerly shewed, whereof you may see more at large in *Leunclavius*, *Hypolitus*, *Busbequius*, *Pandect. Turc. cap. 24.* and others: Yea, to come to a latter instance, in one of the greatest of Gods enemies that this age afforded, namely the Duke *de Maine*, for excellency in discipline he was second to none. For the ruin of this, I may again with the learned renew my complaint, but I haue handled that before: onely the causes would be observed, which I take. First, to be want of piety: the duties of the second Table, arise from the duties of the first. Other causes we may gather from the words of *Appian*; *These are the things* (saith he) *that layeth military Discipline in the dust, every one for getteth his place*; namely, that he is a souldier; hee preferreth the serving of a private humour, or his own lust, to the publique good; great Ones, or Princes, abuse the service of Inferiours to their own onely gain. *Appianus Claudius* giveth another cause, namely, *mans palliating foule sins with abused names*, as haughtinesse and contempt with the name of gravity; filthy ribauldry with the name of merriment; palpable foolery with the name of simplicity; starke staring madnesse, with the name of fortitude; bloudie oaths, with the name of big souldier-like words; drunkennesse, with the name of good fellowship; the Idol-maker of a *Cup*, with the name of a good subject: and lastly, the loose carriage of great Ones, with the names of refreshing themselves. And by the contrary, the best things are branded, with the worst and foulest names; as piety by the name of Puritanism; humility, with the name of pusillanimity; simplicity of speech is called hypocrisie; and sobriety, singularity; and reproofe of sin, too much holinesse; due execution of discipline, cruelty; but remissionesse of discipline, gentlenesse.

The causes of the decay of Discipline

Lib. 4. de bello civili.

In sua orat. apud Dionys. Halicarn.

this, as I shewed, the great Ones, in themselves must begin
Moses and Iosua, if they will leade the Lords forces, must dis-
 cipline themselves before they direct others. If a King be
 in the Camp, Discipline should rule him. It is very base
 flattery, and meat and drink to many, to suggest to Kings,
 that they may rule others by *Laws*, and themselves by their own
 will. The very Heathen Emperours, who had no more
 knowledge then the bookes of Nature; or at most, such
 Morall Philosophy could afford, and no more glory but
 transitory command; yet they would subject themselves to
 the selfe-same Laws that they willed others to obey. A no-
 table instance in this, we haue in *Adrian* the Emperour, the
 first after *Octavius Caesar*, that revived Discipline, and there-
 fore much magnified by *Ælian* in his *Tackticks*; it was the
 manner, in creating of a Tribune of war, to put a sword
 into his hand, as an Ensign of command, which the Em-
 perour holding out to the Tribune: *Rebeld* (saith he) receiue
 this sword, which if I command and rule in reason, as a Prince
 should doe, draw it out and use it for me: but if I doe otherwise
 use it against me. *Cripius* hath words to the same effect, spo-
 ken by the Emperour to *Sura*, when hee set him over the
 Pretorian forces. So *Dio*. But *Suidas* hath the words in
 Greeke.
 Secondly, if Commanders would haue Discipline, they
 must not disdain to shew them the way; And that great Ge-
 nerals haue not denyed to doe, in things even inferiour to
 their place: As I shewed you before in *Adrian*, so by a whole
 Iury of the learned, the like is testified of *Scipio*, the restor-
 er of Discipline. He would haue no beds; and to shew them
 an example, he used himselfe to much hardnesse, lying no
 better then on a bed filled with Hay; hee abandoned all
 dainties and delicacies, so that ease had no intertainment;
 and by these pains he obtained his end: As it is said of
 him to his great praise; That hee tooke away sloth, and
 other vices of the souldiers, rather by his exercise in the
 Camp.

*Spartian in
vita Ha-
drian.*

Lib. 5. ch. 6.

De hac to

ΕΦωε

ταυτην εστι

ει μιν κα-

λ@ u-

παρχω u-

περ εμ,

ει δε μν

κατα εμ.

*Ignatius
aliquo mi-
litum vita
exercendo
potius in*

Campe as in a schoole, then by inflicting of punishment. Let Christian Kings and Commanders learne this of God, the great Commander of all the world, who often useth words, and under them expresseth actions, more suitable to our shallow capacitie, then befitting so glorious a Majestie. There is one manner of majestie for the field, and another for the chayre of State, or the Presence. The lover he looketh in the field, the higher he is; and the lesser he is to himselfe in the campe, the greater he is to his souldiers. Alexander the great, thought it no disparagement to his greatnesse, as he sate by the fire to take a souldier almost starved vvith cold, and see him in his ovne seat, telling him, that if he had been a Persian borne, the sitting in the Kings seate vvould haue cost him his head; but as he vvvas a Macedonian borne, he might safely doe it. You see how this great king, in this one act, shewed both great humanitie and humilitie. The like is observed of the Noble and learned Xenophon, vvho being on his horse, and commanding his souldiers as they marched along, to take a narrow passage, a lazie fellow, amongst the rest, fell a murmuring, and said, it was an easie matter for him to sit on his horse and command; vvwhich he over hearing, leapes from his horse, and causeth the common souldier to get up in his place, and marched a long on foote a great pace to the taking of the passage, the rest of the souldiers flouting and hissing at lazie bones their new Generall: He came downe vvith shame enough, and hardly could they perswade Xenophon to take horse againe, and to reserve him selfe for a better use.

A third meane to advance discipline, is to be very choise in the choosing of Officers. This was *Adrians* care in the choise of Tribunes of war, that he admitted none but men of prudence, learning, courage, good report, & veracious conversation. As discipline hath advanced the Turke, so this hath been a meanes with him to preserve discipline; for neither, birth, wealth, friends, or any by respect, prevailed

with

*castris velus
in scholis
quam pu-
niendo su-
stulit.*

*Appian. de
bell. Hispan.
1. & alij.*

*Front.
Strat. lib. 4.
cap. 6.*

with them in the choyce of Officers; but according to his desert and carriage he is advanced to place where, on the contrary, our making, or admitting of Commanders for money or intreatie of great Ones, makes us misse such a point of our Compas as may mar all the course: when desert looses place who will strive to deserve? All the Turks care is, *what he is, not, what he hath, or of whom he is come.*

Temperamentum sit ad iusticiā.

Front. lib. 4. cap. 4.

Cornel. Tacit. de moribus Germanorum.

Julius Capitolinus.

The fourth and last meanes to preserve discipline, is exercise of discipline; wherein, as I haue shewed, there must be a due temperature, wherein mercie and iustice must meet together. That example of *Manlius* upon his owne son, of pure unmixed *iustice*, is not unknowne to those that read: who, fighting against the commandment of his father, notwithstanding of his successe, was first beaten with rods in the face of the Army, and after had his head chopt off with an axe: After which act he was euer called by the name of *Manlius the Imperious*. In this kind the *Germanes* were very strict; traytors and fugitives, they hanged up; base and idle fellowes, and all infamous persons, they stifled in mire and clay, and cast a heap of stones upon them. You may read at large in the *Romane histories* for diuers crimes, diuers punishments; as for adultery, drunkenesse, &c. *Maximus the Emperour*, caused put two souldiers for abusing of a maide in the bellies of two slit oxen, with the oxens heads cut off, that the one might speake to the other. But not to insist in examples, this rule will doe well, *that according to the nature of the sin, the circumstances of the qualitie, and place of the offender, the punishment be inflicted.* And to shut up the point, let it be euer holden a great part of Discipline, to keepe the souldiers from unlawfull spoiles, which is indeed robbery. The *Turke* is exceeding strict in this, vvherein he glorieth much. Many examples there be in histories. A *Tamizarie* drunke off a milke vvomans milke in the market, and being accused before the Iudge, he denyed the thing; but he caused to hang him up by the feet, and tye him strait with a cord

Record about the middle, by vvhich meanes he vomitted out the milke; and vvas presently after that strangled for the offence. *Lyfander* the Lacedonian beat a souldier, onely for stepping out of the vway; vvhich pleading for himselfe that he meant not to ravin, the Generall answered, *he would haue him to giue no appearance of euill.*

CHAPT. XIX.

The Motions and Actions of War.

HAVING thus laid out, as you see, a *Symeter* of the parts of vvarr, I proceed in order to the handling of the actions of vvar: for as vvarre consisteth as it vvere of a body and soule; so the motions and actions of war are the fruits and effects of that substance. But as a body and a soule, are not both enough to make sound and valid actions, eyther naturall or animall, except they be united in a good temperment, which may well be called a *harmony of the foure first qualities rising from a due mixture of the foure Elements*; just so it is in war, whose *εργασία*, or active motion requireth the due temperature of counsell, that it may leaue remaining *τελειον έργον*, a perfect worke. And as from naturall heate the spirits hath their agilitie to inact; but the primogenious humor or radicall moisture, both tempers and maintayneth that naturall heat; so that magnanimous heat of courage putteth spirit and life into warlike actions: but the radicall humide or pure oyle of counsell, maintayneth and increaseth the heate of courage, therefore counsell is compared to a deepe water. And as by *heat & humide wee live*, they being the two active qualites; so war is to be managed with courage and counsell. The prooffe of this positiō is plentifull, both from

Prover. 20. 5

Scripture & other writers. Every purpose is established by counsell faith Solomon, and with good advice make war: So in another place: By wise counsell shalt thou make war, and in multitude of counsels there is safteie. That vile Blasphemous Rabshakeh knew the truth of this, that strength and counsell were for the war. So in the 10. of Iudges & 19. wee may see how the Princes, and the people of the Tribes, doe assemble themselves together in counsell, how to undertake and manage war against their enemies. It is a main principle with Vegetius; that of wise men, and choyse Warriours there be a Counsell pickt out and appointed, who may consult, and determine of all things necessary for forces and affayres, both concerning themselves and the enemies; and especially what will hurt the enemies and helpe themselves. This hath been the practise not onely of good faints, but of all great warryours. David asketh of God before concerning his war with Saul, 1 Sam. 23. 2. 4. So 2 Sam. 5. 19. where though he had the ground of his counsell from God, with a promised successe; yet did he not neglect to consult with men, for the accomplishing of Gods counsell. The Iewes had two sorts of Magistrats, the one for peace called *Togati*, the other for war called *Sagati* or *Bellici*. So they had two sorts of Counsels, the one for peace and the other for war. So *Quintus*, *Fabius*, *Severus*, *Alexander*, *Pyrhus*, effected all by counsel.

Reasons.

A description of counsell.

As this truth is of exceeding great weight, so there be weighty reasons to inforce the practise of it; as from the nature and excellency of it, the necessitie of it, the particular object in hand; namely war, the good effects of it, and the great evils ensuyng upon the want of it. First then to the Excellencie of counsell, which manifesteth the nature of it, counsell is not onely an *indagation*, or searching out of things expedient, nor yet a bare discourse or discerning of things so sought out; but it is also an application of the will to that which is fittest, therefore is counsell called *Election*, or *προαίρεσις*, in regard of making choyce of one thing rather than another,

per-

persupposing alwaies a well informed judgement by mature deliberation. So that I may say of Counsell, as it is said of Conscience, it meddles directly with particulars, according to that definition of *Damascen*; *Councell is an inquisitive appetite of things profitable*: or as *Tully*, *It is the elective power of a pure minde*; examining the causes and principalls that are to be applyed: The excellency of it appeareth in this; that it is a speciall gift of God. 'Counsell is mine (saith the Lord.) Yea, Christ is named by the name of 'Counsell. The Heathen could say, that counsell is truly, 'an holy thing. It is wel compared to a deep fountain of water, *Prov. 20.6*, for the fresh springing thereof, refresheth and maketh fruitfull all the plots and plantations of policie, both in peace and war. It is like unto the head, which as it is the fountain of life and function; and so it transfuseth the facultie of all these through the whole body; so counsell containeth the life of warre, and is all, as the soule is virtually in every part.

Counsell is very significantly enbled by *Lodovicus Sfortia*, Duke of Millain, by *Morus*, or the *Mulberry tree*; which name the said Duke took unto himselfe as his surname, not for the blacknesse of his visage; but because he would bear the world in hand, that in his actions he was like this tree; for as it doth not bud nor flourish, till it hath past over the Injury of the Winter, and presently after bringeth forth buds and fruits, and therefore called the *wisest of trees*. By this he would make shew, giving this in his Armes, that it was naturally given to him, to dispose of all his actions maturely and deliberately by counsell. But it was but a shew indeed, for he did nothing lesse, as you shall hear hereafter.

It were well with Nations, if it had been his fault alone, but these evill times hath too many too like him; who would seem to carry all by counsell; but their actions proclaim to the world, that they are at deadly enmity both with counsell and wisedome. Such dumb shews of counsell, with contrary actions, are well enbled by the Centaur; Whose

*Appetitus
inquisitivus
de rebus u-
tilibus. lib.
3. ca. 33.
Est subtilis
animi pro-
spectus &c.
2 Rhetor.
Pro. 8. 14.
Esa. 9.
ισχυρ α-
ληθως εστι
η συμβου-
λα.*

Applicatio

*Estque bo-
ma dum si-
mulat se po-
pulo esse pi-
um.* upper part giveth a semblance of care for the peoples good, but
the lower part which is the beast, devours the people under colour
of humanity. The excellency of counsell appeareth like-

*Militis est
robur con-* wise in this, that it is a singular gift given to men fitted to
command in war.

*filiumque
ducis.
Cic. de off.
lib. 1.* As this is the excellency of it, so it is of an absolute ne-
cessity. What good will forces doe (saith Tully) if counsell bee
wanting in managing of war. There is a necessity of counsell,
saith Quintus Curtius, and not of rash violence. What good
will the wall of strength doe, except it haue counsell for
the foundation? Yea, the more strength, without modera-
tion by counsell, the more speedy and greater ruin. Yea (as

*Quid tibi
prodest ha-
bere sapien-
tiam si con-
silium desit
lib. 2. de off.* Ambrose saith) What awayleth wisdom without counsell? It is
but as a sealed fountain, it neither doth good to a mans selfe,
nor to another: And, as one saith pithily, As is a Citie (the
walles whereof are ruined and raced to the ground) such is
a man that undertaketh not all his actions with counsell,

*Idem est
consilium
adversus
hostes &c.* Caesar held, and that truely, Counsell to be as necessary in war,
as Physicians in time of sicknesse. It is the onely thing (saith
Vegetius) and the Generals greatest advantage, to haue a wise
Councell.

CHAP. XX.

War especially requireth Councell.

OBSE RVE in the third place, the obiect of warre,
which is the subject of Councell, and reason will in-
force us to walk by counsell. Must not the Generall know
his own forces, and his enemies; both for nature, power,
furniture, and number, as neer as he can? Should hee not
know how to dispose of his own, whether horse or foot;

to take the advantage of the ground, to disadvantage his enemy all that he can, and by all lawfull Straagems, to conquer his enemies at the lowest rate that is possible? Besides all these to be considered, there is a further end, namely, the averting of all evil, and the procuring of all good that can be thought on. Doth not goods, liberty, wiues, children, lands, liues, countries, Crowns, Religion, and Gods glory, (which is worth all the rest) lye at the stake? yea, and on such a hazard often, that if the first be lost, there is little or no hope of playing a second game. All these cry for counsel; which, under God, is the onely wise disposer of the aforesaid meanes, and obtainer of the end. If for other things of lesse moment, wee doe not cast the dice (as we say) but with great care, watchfull forecast, and deliberate counsell, we labour to effect them; what should bee done in this, where the adventure is so great, the issue so doubtful, and the least error may cast all away?

As the spirituall warfare of a Christian is the matter of greatest moment under the heaven; so next unto it, in my judgement, is the bodily warre. If men of all sorts that professeth the name of Christ, would but take this to their consideration, it would make them in the first place, take up the controversie that is betwixt them and God, that hee might be on their side; secondly, the weight of the subject, and worth of the object, would make them look to the laying of every stone, for making sure the building; lastly, having got a stout resolution, from advice wel grounded, and the object wel thought upon, they would stand fast, quit themselves like men, and esteem so high a prize worthy of their dearest blood, desiring rather to die with honour, then to liue with disgrace.

Fourthly, I come to the utility, or good of counsell that ensues upon it. *Discretion, or counsell* (saith the Wise-man) *shall preserve thee.* Erasmus citing that saying of Euripides, *Lib 8. Apoc* that one good counsell may overcome many forces, giveth this

The utility
of counsell
Prov 2.11.

Lib 8. Apoc
that one good counsell may overcome many forces, giveth this

"comment upon it. It is not of so much waight to carry
 "many forces into the field, as to haue the Commanders
 "of forces, men of counsell; because wise counsell, and
 "wittie skill is of far greater moment, then strength void
 "of counsell. As war without counsell, is as a Citie with-
 out walls; so counsell in war, is both wals and munition, it
 affoordeth both inuasiue and defensiuē Armes. *Counsell* (saith
Cesar) is the same to me against mine enemy, that the *Physitian*
 is against sicknesse; which he had rather overcome with fasting,
 then with physick; so had I rather overcome with famine, then
 with sword. As this Counsell hath often more prevailed
 then the sword; so is it grounded upon good reason.
 First, *famine fighteth within*, as *Vegetius* vvell observeth,
 and therefore it prevaileth oftner then the sword. Secondly, if
 the Defendant haue to doe with a humane enemy, he may
 saue himselfe by capitulation. Lastly, the forces of the assay-
 lant are without hazard. If you look but on the good suc-
 cesse of counsell; yea, even then when forces haue fayled, the
 utility of it shall further appear. Was not *Romes* Common-
 wealth advanced by the counsel of *Q. Fabius*? *Cato* in his Ora-
 tion against *Catiline* said, that their *Ancestors* made themselves
 great, especially by good Counsell. Was not the State of *Hungaria*,
 and *Bohemia* advanced and maintained, to the dishonour
 and damage of their enemies; the one by the counsell and
 dexterity of that renounmed *Hunniades*; the other by the
 counsel and prowesse of that admirable *Sisca*, against the
 two most potent aduersaries of the world? Amongst all in-
 stances of this kind, there is none more remarkeable then
 that of the State of *France*, under the government of *Charles*
 the Wise, vvho comming to the Crown, found a ruinous
 State full of confusion and calamity: for all *Guyan*, part of
Normandy and *Picardie* were possessed by the English,
 through the great overthrow of *Phillip of Valois*, vvith eleven
 Princes, and twelue hundred Knights and Gentlemen, gi-
 ven by King *Edward* himselfe at the battell of *Crecy*, and by
 another

*Fame po-
 suit quam
 ferro supe-
 randum bo-
 nes.*

*Fames in-
 trinsecus
 pugnat, &
 vincit sepi-
 us quam
 ferrum. li. 3
 cap. 9.*

another given by Prince *Edward* at the battle of *Poitiers*, wherein King *John* was taken, and his son *Philip*, with many Princes and great Lords sent prisoners into England, besides those two sore defeats, one on the neck of another, whereby the foundation of France was shaken, and nothing left but the ruines of a Kingdom. These reliques were all on fire by civill dissentions. Notwithstanding all these, the aforesaid *Charles Lesage* (so called for his gravitie and wisdom) comming to the government, did with such prudence and counsell compose and order the affaires of that troublesome state, that he first quenched the civill discord, and after, in time, recovered a great part of that, which the two former Kings had lost; and that not without wonder: for he was not so brave a warrior as his father King *John*, nor his grand-father *Philip*. Again he had to doe with as wise a Prince & as great warrior, as happy & valliant a Generall, as ever Europe had; yet for all these, necessitie made him wise, and he tooke a contrary course to the former, undertaking and managing Armes with great advice and counsell, without which he would not move one foote; it had indeed an answerable successe, beyond the expectation of his adversary; who seeing and admiring his wise courses, whereby he dulled the edge of the English forces, (loosing ground they could not well tell how) King *Edward* gave this testimonie of him, that he never knew king that used armes so little, and yet made him so much adoe. For as by missives he effected much businesse (so said he) *he makes me more a doe with his Pen, then his father, or grand father did with their forces and Armes*. By this his Counsell he brought his Kingdom from being a field of war, a triumph of spoile, a map of miserable povertie, to be peaceable, plentiful and rich. In these instances I could be larger then the treatise will suffer, but I will shut up all with one, not unknown, namely, of the state of Spaine. What I pray you is the roote of his over-spreading in *Europe* and other parts? Is it his prowess & valour?

Froysard
lib. 1. cap.
132.

valour? No, the few Spanish warriours of note upon record sheweth the contrary. It is then their counsell and slight, (especially since it hath been fed with a fountain *running under the ground.*) In this their craftie disposing of themselves, they are not unlike the Hedghogge running with the Hare. Let the race be through the hedge, the Hedghogge is too good for the Hare (for what side soever he be on, he is alwayes before.) But that the Spaniard should not be proud of this, let *Alva* his *Trophees* stay his boasting. If he had beene a man of as much counsell as crueltie; he might haue saved a sea of bloud, his Master a masse of mony, and prevented Spaines greatest losse, which I hope he shall never reedceme. What is it but the wisdom and counsell of a Prince, assisted by his privy Councell, that commendeth himselfe, & commandeth others? It is not any personall indowment, nor the Princely perogative, of place without this, that ever will advance his glory, or his subjects good, neyther can he without this, procure his subjects continuance of obedience in love, nor cause his name to smell like a precious ointment. What made *Severus* to be beloved, feared and obeyed but his prudent counsell? Witnes that exemplary act of his, when his souldiers mutined; because he was carryed lame of the gout in his Horse litter, *they would haue his sonne Bassianus to governe.* He called the Commanders together, and after a grave and wise remonstrance made to the Army, he caused the chiefe mutiniers to be beheaded, giving this item to the rest, *that they should know, that it was the head and not the feet that commanded;* meaning, thereby, that it is counsell and wisdom in the Superiour that commandeth, and not any gift of the body.

CHAP. XXL

The evill of evill Counsell, or want of good Counsell.

THe last ground for use of counsell is taken from the evill that doth accompany the want of Counsell. Because I have many things to handle, I would be as brief in every thing as I could. God himselfe telleth us what an unhappy state that people is in (whether in peace or warr) that want counsell. When Israell had provoked God so highly, that he had resolved to make their remembrance cease, *Deut. 32. 26.* What was the cause of this wrath of God and fearfull desolation? surely their sinnes as you may see in the Chapt; which the Spirit of God reduceth to two heads, *waxing fat in the abuse of Gods blessings, and forsaking of the living God to follow Idolls.* The ground of this their fearfull condition the Lord layeth downe in the 28. verse, namely, *want of Counsell, They are a nation, saith he, voide of Counsell* in the plurall number, that is, there is never a whit at all amongst them, & there is no understanding in them. Where you see what a vvoefull case that people is in, that is void of counsell.

And if effects demonstrate causes, and poysonable springs shew corruption of the fountaines head; then let us behold our nation, overgrown with fatness, in the abuse of Gods blessings, our kicking with the heele against him, and provoking him to jelousie, with the abhominatiō of strange Gods, and these shall cry aloud to the shame of our faces, that wee are void of counsell, let some talke what they will to the contrary. Though this be by the way; yet it is not beside the way. For to our hearts grieve, you may see, what ground I goe upon. But I proceed. *Tully* (though speaking lyke a

O

heathen

*Applica-
tion.*

Lib 3. Rebe-
tor.

Bellua &
pueri non
sunt parti-
cipes consi-
lij. lib. 3.

Eth. cap. 2.

Θει βλάπ-
τοντος

αδηλοῖς

λαγυμοῖς

ατύχημα

ἐπιγινέ-
ται.

Chap. 28.

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2. Thef. 2.

11. 12.

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heathen) hath for the matter a divine position; that a man that runneth and rusheth upon attempts, he cannot expect any helpe from God. Yea without counsell what better is a man, be he never so great, then a child or a beast, which as Aristotle saith, doe not partake of counsell. It is observed both by divines and humanists, that it is a fearfull token of Gods indignation, when a man looseth his counsell. Yea, it is the very finger of God taking counsell from him; because he hath a purpose to bring some great mischiefe upon him, or to destroy him. God (saith Ap-
piannus) hurting his mind, or taking counsell from him, calamitie is not far of. The Lord doth threaten the same to the diso-
bedient in Deuteronomy: The Lord shall smite thee with madnes, and with blindness, with astonishment of heart, and thou shalt be groping at noone day; which as it is one of the heaviest pu-
nishments, as Flaminius wel observeth, that God layeth upon man; So it is just that it should be so; God sending them strong delusions, that they may beleewe lies, because they would not beleewe the truth. Because they would not be ruled by counsell (saith the same Author) God giveth them up to their owne lusts, and to follow their owne counsels, which proveth their bane in the end, even then when they least looke for it. The man thus groping for counsell where there is none, but destruction instead of counsell, is well compared by Plini unto the Polypus or manie-feet, which thin-
king to catch the Oyster, is often caught in the Trap; so the Blindman is often caught in his owne snare.

CHAP. XXII.

That great Ones must use Counsell.

THVS having laid down the grounds why, Both in peace and warre vve must vwalk and vwork by counsell, I come

come now to lay down what kinde of counsell this must be, and of whom it must be taken. All men will seeme to agree, that all must be disposed by counsell; but by what counsell, and from what counsellors. there they disagree. The better sort loue not to doe all of their own head; but, be they neuer so great, in peace and war they use the counsell of others.

Julius Capitolinus delivereth this, to the commendation of *Antonius Pius*, That hee would never doe any thing in Civill, or Military affaires, which he had not first consulted of, with grave and wise Counsellors: giving this good reason (allowed by all that loue counsell) It is greater reason (saith he) that I alone should follow the counsell of so many of my faithfull friends, then that they being so many should follow my will being but one. *Dionysius* giveth a particular instance of this Emperours practise, in a case controverted betwixt him and his Councell, of which was *Scavala* that great Lawyer, and many others of good note. To whose advice after much debating of the matter, he yeelded willingly. I see, quoth he, (Masters) it must be thus as you would haue it, giving the same reason already alledged. This course did not *Salomon* despise.

This course did *Cesar*, *Alexander*, *Severus*, and all good Warriours and Magistrates follow, both in peace and war. Neither is this any disparagement to the Prince or Generall (as though he had no wit or counsell but from others braines) but it rather addeth to their dignity: because a Prince is alwaies holden so much the wiser, the lesse he is addicted to his own opinion. When *Zeno* the great Philosopher dyed (of whose judgement and advice *Antigonus* that wise King, made use in all his actions) he was not ashamed to say, That the theatre of his actions was removed.

But there be another sort of great Ones, vwith whom it is nothing so, they like no counsell but of *Marchiavil* his cutting out, that a Prince must haue no counsell but of his own coyning: What fair eoulers he draweth upon this false principle, I haue now no time to discover, I referr you there.

al. rom. 11
ut ego tot
taliumque
amicorum
consilium
sequar, quā
ut tot talis-
que amici
meam uni-
us sequan-
tur volun-
tatem.

*Æquius est
ut ego tot
taliumque
amicorum
consilium
sequar, quā
ut tot talis-
que amici
meam uni-
us sequan-
tur volun-
tatem.*
*Dionys. He-
lic. lib. 2.*

*Gestorum
suorum
theatrum
sublatum
esse dixit.*
*Plutarch in
Apoth.*

*Natura le-
na sua.
Sanctū est
quod volu-
mas.*

fore to his *first and second maxime of Counsell*. But to learn the lesson it selfe, without further scanning of the truth; Many haue been too apt, to their own overthrow: Princes are naturally addicted, to *admire what is their own*, and to presume of an absolute perfection in themselves, as though they vvere Gods, and needed no more. And so it vvas vwith *Dioclesian, Caligula, and Nero*, vvho scorned to hearken to any thing but their own vvils, and vvhat pleased their humour. This vvas the fault, and vvrought the overthrow of *Lantrechius* the Frenchman; vvhom *Guicciardine* doubteth not to call the chiefe *Chieftain* of France; but being of a lofty nature and high spirit, through his experience in Arms, and authority in the Army; he vvas so ravished with the conceit of selfe-sufficiency, that he contemned every thing that came not from himselfe. He thought it a disgrace not to be reputed a *domine fas-totum*; neglecting many times better counsell then his own; as for instance in the warres of Naples, vvwhich turned to the undoing of himselfe, and of the businesse.

*Non tutor
at crudelis
hostis, pro-
ripit impe-
rium nepo-
ti. Iob. 1. 4.
de El.*

Another notable instance vve haue in the aforesaid *Lewis Sforcia*, a Prince (as Histories report) highly adorned vvith all endowments of nature, and ornaments of the minde, a quick vvitt, eloquence at vvill; but that the bloud of his Nephew did staine all these excellencies; (*for of a Tutor he proved a Traytor, like Richard the third*) he might vvell haue deserved the name of a meek and benigne Prince; but as his haughtinesse and arrogancie vvas such that he thought to dispose of Italy at his pleasure, so he vvas puffed up vvith such a *false-conception* of his ovvn selfe-sufficiency, that he contemned and rejected all counsell. For though he made a shew thereof in his coulors, as I shewed you; yet indeed he made use of nothing lesse; hee carryed all by the compasse of his own opinion, whercunto he was so much addicted, that nothing relished vvith him that came not from himselfe. But this selfe-confidence, and despising of counsell,

all, brought him to a tragickall end, as witnesseth *Guicciar-
dine*: For being foyled by the French, he betooke himselfe *Lib. 4. Hist.
Ital.*
among the Switzers to the habite of an ordinary souldier;
that he was discovered, and taken by the French, and in an
inominious manner vvas conducted to *Lyons*, vvhether in the
view of a great concourse of people, he was tossed betwixt
envie and pittie for a time; and being denyed the Kings pre-
sence (which he did exceedingly desire) vvas shut up in
prison; which served both to limit his ambitious thoughts;
(which all Italy could not contain;) and likewise to put a
period to his disgracefull and disdained life, after ten yeares
imprisonment.

One instance more let me glue you in *James* the 4. King
of Scots, as brave a man, as vvitie a King; so benigne and
gracious a Prince to his subjects, as Europe had not so great
a sufficarie; so that he seemed to be composed of clemency
and equity; and vvhich surpast all the rest, he vvas so guar-
ded vwith the tranquillity of a good conscience, arising from
the innocency of his princely carriage; that he counted
not the aspersions of the wicked vworthy of requitall, with
so much as an angry vvord. In a vvord, he did so ravish vwith
love the hearts of his subjects, that as he vvas dearer to them
while they had him, then their very liues; so the remem-
brance of his death did so gall their soules vwith sorrow, that
never a Prince in the world lived more desired; and dyed more
lamented. Yet this one *Coliquintida* put death in the pot; namely
neglect of counsell, both in undertaking and managing
the war against the English, which put an untimely end,
both to his being, and his princely vertues: Insomuch, that
it is well observed by the learned authour. *It is uncertaine,*
whether the counsell, or event was worse.

These examples, and many others of the same nature,
makes good that position of *Plato*, That a proud man, carryed
altogether on the wings of his own conceit; scorning the advice
both of the wise and warriour, is left at length by God to be his

*Incertum
est peiore
concilio an
eventu, B.
R Scotie
lib. 13.*

own destruction. To this effect *Comineus*, a Statesman inferior to none, laies this down as an infallible prognostick of future ruin, both of King and Kingdom, when a Prince neglecting counsell, cleaveth onely to his own wit. Yea, he sheweth it plainly to be a fearefull fore-runner of Gods judgement, when God doth infatuate the heart, so that it will not hearken to counsell.

David Lin-
desius eques
Montanus.

The instance that vnce had last in hand maketh it plain. For the wise Council, of that good King, did earnestly dissuade him from vvarre: Besides that strange monitor appeared to him at prayer (as a man of credit vvith the King) informed the Historian, that he saw him with his eyes) for all this, by the instigation of *Lamote*, the French Embassador, he would to it. The English forces being gathered together under the conduct of the Earle of Surry; and *Herauld* being sent to the King, desiring that he would design the day and place of battel; his wise and warlike council dissuaded him from it, and that upon substantiall grounds; first, they had already the better, and so much as they could well desire; secondly, the English were twice so many, and the fresh souldiers, against them, being wearyed vvith taking of Castles: thirdly, by delaying fight, they might weary the English out; or at least draw them to such a disadvantage of place, that they might carry the victory rather by Counsell then by Armes, vvhich (as the Earle of Anguine said vvell) is the property of a good Commander. The said Earle likewise refuted all the allegations of the French, who put the King on, onely for their own ends. But all this would not vvork upon the King, vvho in great indignation against the noble Earle, vvilled him to depart if he were afraid; for I vvill fight (saith he) against the English if they vvere a hundred thousand. Which hee did, but to his own undoing, and the grieve and damage of his Nation. The vvhich I rather relate, for confirmation of the former position; That when God hardens the heart against

Victoria
magis con-
silio quam
Armis ma-
ximi ducis
propriis.

counsell

councell in judgement, hee maketh way for ruin.

Foolish then is that forgery of those, who attribute this
ings fall, to the taking sacrilegious Armes (as they call them)
ainst Pope *Inlins* the second, Englands holy Lord. It was
e Lord of heaven that gave him this defeat, neglect of
councell being the secundarie cause. I might instance this
t further in *Richard* the second, a stout Prince, and gover-
ng well for the time that he was counsell'd by his three
ood uncles, the Dukes of Lancaster, Yorke and Gloucester;
ut the rejecting of them, & their counsell, made vway to the
osse of his Crowne, dignitie & life. Poets and other writers
e plentiful to this purpose, wherof I give you but a taste:

*Iratus ad
penā Deus
si quis tra-
bit auferre
mentem ta-
libus primū
solet.*

When God in wrath will man to judgement bring,

The soules cleare light from such, he first removes.

So another to the same effect:

A supreme power void of counsell good,

Falls of it selfe; as though it never stood.

And there is great reason why ruine should follow neg-
ct of counsell, not onely from the equitie of Gods judg-
ment; but also from the dangerous disposition of a Princes
counsell, without the mixture of advice. For as the
imple or pure element would not feed or nourish, but
kill or starve; so the counsell of a compound body, had
need to be a compound counsell. *Plato* and others, explaine
his wel by comparison, taken from the two-fold course of
the Sunne. The Counsell of the soveraigne power (say they) is like
the diurnall course of the Sunne compassing the earth in one day:
which course is swift, rapid, & full, and violent; but this is tempe-
red by the indirect opposition of the annual course, in the oblique
circle of the Zodiacke, which also distinguisheth the seasons, main-
taineth, refresheth, and nourisheth all the creatures which other-
wise could not endure. So the Counsell of Princes, though en-
dued with prudence, yet through the moving intelligence
of supreme authoritie, becommeth so fierce, redoubtable,
yea and often so devious, that like *Phaetons* misguided
chariot

The ne-
cessity of
a mixt
Counsell.

Chariot setting all on fire. To be plaine it degenerateth from calme counsell to sterne will, and from advised government to cruell tyranny; but by the sweet and temperate mixture of choyce counsell from the religious & wise Senate, it becomes pleasant and sweet, full of grace to the Prince, and goodnes to the people. For indeed it is no grace to a Prince in peace or in warre (howsoever *Sycophants* suggest) *when he and his counsell rideth all on one horse.*

Where this mixture is waning there be ever mad doings for Princes, for want of this, involve themselves, & their states in such an inextricable laborinth, that when they would unwind themselves, they goe the further in their evils; becoming like *Hidraes* heads, more then they can deale with. It is an easie matter for a Prince, especially neglecting counsell, to put all out of frame, as a Master of a ship, may run her upon the rockes; but the shipwracke of himselfe and all the rest followeth. The aberrations of Princes (saith *Agiselaus*) are the greatest evils of all; because they undoe themselves and others. Princes mounted upon their will, are compared prettily to one got up, on a wilde horse, who being Asked by one that met him, whether he went, *even whether* (saith he) *this horse will carry me.* So some are carried so far on their owne lusts, or their owne wit, and some on their owne feares, that when they would, it may be they cannot, or dare not alight, but over-ride all in their way, and runne themselves against a wall, or over a rocke.

These are also wittily compared by a learned man, to *Eu- crates*, in *Lucian*, who lighting on *Panocrates* the *Aegiptian*, learned many secrets of him; amongst the rest, they being by themselves, and wanting one to attend them, *Panocrates* taketh a peece of wood, maketh it up with cloaths, murmured some words over it, & it began to walk like a man. It went and drew water; made ready their supper; served in their meat, and attended the table. Of all things *Euocrates* longed most to learne this, but his Master kept this

„ this to himselfe as his chiefe secret; yet *Eucrates* got the
 „ word by heart: And his Master being one day abroad, he
 „ would fall to, and make up a *serviſing-man*, which by the
 „ words pronounced was done: but being ſent to draw wa-
 „ ter, he could not make him leave off, but he was like to
 „ drowne up all. *Eucrates* falleth to him with an axe, thin-
 „ king to make a ſhort cut, and cleaveth him in two, but he
 „ made himſelfe more vvorke, and brought himſelfe in
 „ greater danger. For they both fell to draw vvater; and
 „ had not his Master come he had beene undone. The Mo-
 „ rall is no more but this, *make worke and haue work*; There be
 „ a great many vvater dravvers, vvorſe then the *Gibeonites*, that
 „ vvill not leaue vvhen they are bidden. To conclude this
 „ point vvith *Comineus*, ſuch Princes, of all men are the moſt
 „ miſerable, not onely in bringing ruine upon themſelves, &
 „ others, but alſo in making their caſes void of pittie, and
 „ their names lyable to an everlaſting diſtaſte. And though
 „ (ſaith the ſame Author) their Sovereignty carry them
 „ through, vvithout controulment; becauſe there is nothing
 „ but teares, ſighes, & plaints of the vvronged againſt them:
 „ yet let the know the Almighty hath a xvxfold tribunall,
 „ he maketh their ovvne doings plague them heere, and
 „ and plagues them eternally heereafter. Then as Princes
 „ would ſhun theſe plagues, let them be content to entertaine
 „ counſell, according to *Menander*.

“ Let Counsell be thy guide in every thing:

Nothing as Counsell doth ſuch ſaſtie bring.

Or if you will that of *Iovius* in his Elogie of *Sfortia*.

Therefore lay downe they pride and insolence,

Who in thy wit puts all thy confidence.

„ Βελην
 „ απάντος
 „ πραγμα-
 „ τος προ-
 „ λαμβανε,
 „ βαλης
 „ γαρ υδεν
 „ εστιν ας-
 „ φαλεια-
 „ ρον.

Ergo inſo-
 lentem pove
 ſuperbiam,
 qui ſidis
 alti viribus
 & genij.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Qualification of Councillours.

BVT as there is necessitie of counsell, so there must be choyce of counsellours. In the choyce of counsellours foure things must be observed, there must be number equalitie, abilitie and honestie. For the first, it is a good rule of Comineus, that a King should haue many Councillours, and that he should never commit the helme of affaires, unto one mans hand: for as many eyes see more then one; so one man may put out his Masters eyes, and become Master in effect. Among many instances take this one of *Sejanus*. whom *Tiberius* advanced so highly with great offices, and the mariage of his daughter. He ruled all as he would; he was honored of all, and followed of all, more then the Emperour; to his image they offered sacrifice, and they were in no small esteeme, to whom he gaue any respect. His brith day, with *Cesars*, was celebrated. But like a monstrous paracide, he went about to subvert his Master, who, (how vile soever he was) had deserved well of him. But his great fall & ignominious death, together with the death of his, did fully parallel the height of his rize. The like may be seene in *Dancres* rize and fall.

2. Equalitie of power.

As there must be a number, so there should be an equalitie of power amongst them: for to commit more to one then another, or, it may be then to all the rest; that one wil goe neere to be Master, & the rest to be but bare voices to serve his desire. One is no number, and where many sit, and one swayeth all, there is a number in name, but none in effect.

3. Abilitie

Thirdly, for their abilitie; they must be men of judgment & experience. The Romane Senate were pickt out as men of sufficiencie for counsell; who for their wisdom and gravitie were

were called *Senators*, and for their care of the common good, *Fathers*; whose names were written in letters of gold, and so called *Conscripti*. It is a question amongst Humanists and Statesmen, Whether a weak Prince, and a wise Council; or a weak Council, and a wise King be better. Both reason and experience doe proue the former to be the better. For many wise, can guide one vweak one better, then one wise many weak ones. Secondly, the wise King taketh no care of giving account; and therefore passeth them at his pleasure: But the wise Council, the weaker the King is, looketh the better to give account of their actions. *Severus* had as many in Council of War, as the Senate had: but what were they? Ancient souldiers experienced in Armes, and in Militarie matters, such as by their service and carriage had deserved well their places. Also schollers such as were well versed in Histories, desiring them to unfold what they knew from the Romane histories, or any other, concerning any matter they had in hand. *Pirrus* said of *Cyneas*, hee had got more Cities by his eloquence, then by his own forces. I knew a very rawe boned youth of a meer Scholler, proved an excellent and much honored Souldier.

Milites veteres, literatos etiam, &c. ut Lampid.

The Ancients doe *Hyeroglyph* a wise and able Council, by a little fish, that goeth before the great Whale; which, as an ancient Naturalist records, (how truely I will not now dispute) doth seek and finde out every necessary for the Whales maintenance, discovereth all shallows and dangerous passages, demonstrating the way by the motion of it selfe. As long as this liveth the Whale is safe, this being dead, the Whale knoweth not what to doe. Iust so, a learned and wise Councell provideth how the *Throne of the Prince may be establisht*, looks out everie thing that may make him happy in his government, and his subjects happy in him: they foresee likewise the shallows, and the shelves of base indignity, vwhereupon a Prince may run himselfe at unawares; by good counsels, motions and admonitions, they

avert him from every thing that may dishonour himselfe, ver his subjects, or bring his Kingdom into contempt. In a word, a wise Councel, is the *glory of his Majesty*, and the *Theater of his actions*; as *Antigonus* said of *Zeno*; which being removed by death, or dislike, the pillars of State are removed, and so the edifice must fall. Princes then are not well advised, in making choice of insufficient men for the government of State, that there own sufficiency may appear the more. Wil the *Sunne* darken the Starrs, that it may shine the brighter? Wil the *fountain* haue but dripping conduits, that all may come to the Conduits head? Or vvould a man be lame in his hands or feet, that the vvit of his head might the better appear? God indeed doth great things by vvweak and foolish means, yet that is his prerogative. Again, they are strong and wise in him and through him.

4 Honesty.

Now I come to the last, but not the least; namely, the honestie required in Councillours. Which wee must not take strictly, onely for outward decency vvith the Apostle; or for that Economick, Ethick, or Politick honesty; vvhich we call by the name of *Civill honesty*, by which it is possible, (as the Car-men of this age assure,) for some to goe to heaven: But vvee must take it so as it comprehendeth piety, equity and honesty; called by the Evangelist, *good and fair honesty*. Iethro gaue *Moses* counsell to make choyce of such Councillours, *Exod. 18.20*, compare it with *Deut. 1.13*, and you shall see 7 properties required; *Wisedome, Understanding, knowledge, fear of God, ability, truth, and hatred of covetousnesse*: The like choyce vv as to be observed for that great *Shanhedrion*, consisting of 70 vvith *Moses*; *Numb. 11.16*. These were interessed in the highest matters, and fate vvith *Moses* himselfe. The spirit directeth vvhat men they should be, namely, *known men*, that is, such as haue approved themselves by their wisedom and good carriage, worthy of so great a place. One describing the properties of a good Councillour, commeth close to this marke: *They should*

Should haue experimentall wit in their brains, words of truth in their mouths, zeale in their iustice, and sanctity in their life. Tully giueth a reason from the weight of their charge. Coun- *De Senec.*
sellours of State should be better then other men, because they *lib. 3.*
haue the custody of the Common-wealth. He illustrateth the same by a Master of a Ship sitting at the Helm. Ambrose giues another reason from the quality of counsell, either good or bad, according to the Councellour. Who will seek fair water out of a puddle, or a pearle amongst dirt and Mire? Where lust, avarice, Atheism, or Idolatry remaineth, shall a King, State or Generall, look for good counsell? Can a man gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? The counsell is as the counsellour; witnesse Salomon, Prov. 12. 5, The counsels of the wicked are deceit; the words are very emphaticall in the originall; the craftie counsels of the ungodly are deceit: where he calls them not deceitfull but deceit, as all composed of deceit, and no other thing in them. The Septuagint *Annus eum*
Translation is a good paraphrast; They coyn out (in steed *idoneum*
of counsell) ungodly deceit. Shall I think him a fit man *putabo qui*
(saith he) to giue me counsell, that never took any good *mibi des*
counsell to himselfe? No; where any sin raigneth there is no *consilium,*
room for good counsell: There may well be counsell for *qui non de-*
dit sibi lib.
2. de offi.
Rome.

A third reason may be given from the diuers effects that follows from good and euill counsellours. Forreignes use to inform themselves of two things especially in the State; Of the Councell of State, and of the Kings foole; if the Councell be wise and vertuous; and the foole simply plain and honest, there they gather evidences of a well governed State: But if the Councell be shallow, and corrupt; and the foole more knaue then foole, thence they collect the weaknesse of the State. And indeed as the Councillors be good or bade, so falleth, or flourisheth the State. A remarkable instance of this we haue in Iosiah King of Iudah, who under the counsell of Iehoiada his uncle governed exceeding

The Mar-
Kings O-
ration.

well; hee was zealous of Gods service; he razed out all the High places, purged the Church, rooted out Baals Priests, caused mony to be collected for the repairing of Gods house. In a word, *He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, all the daies that Iehoiada lived*, all which time he prospered. But *Iehoiada* being dead, the Princes of Iuda, Baals old friends, comes to the King with cap and knee (like dissembling traitors as they were) and tels him, no doubt, a fair tale, that liberty of conscience would doe wel, and he might honour himselfe and please his subjects much, to restore to them againe their old service; hee had too too long been awed by an old *hot-spar*; who, it might be had shewed more fury then zeale in the harsh handling of his grandmother; and that, happily, for some end of his own; and howsoever he had saved his life, and brought him to the Kingdome; yet all this time he had been but *his King*, restreyned of those pleasures and delights, that otherwise he might haue had: For as for their parts, they had no delight to come at Court, where, for such a precise fellow, they could not be merry: besides, hee had quitted him of all his regall authority, in matters of religious worship; wherefore it should be greater for the honour of his Majestie, to take the power into his own hand, and to quit himselfe of that yong fellow *Zacharie*, who would be as saucily peremptory as his father. As for the people it would be meat and drink to them, to haue their Groves and Gods in pomp; and his Majestie should finde more obedience from them, and more loue amongst themselves, then ever he found under all *Iehoiada* his preaching; & as for a few precise fellows that would grumble at it (that would be but for a time) an act of Parliament would fright them, and make them as mute as fishes. Lastly, their conformity with Israels worship, and others, might gain their loue and good liking; yea, who knows but it might bring again the ten Tribes.

To these, or the like speeches of the corrupt Courtiers, the unhappy King is said to *hearken*, with whom presently the case is altered, he becommeth an apostata from God, a plague to his people (and that deservedly both in their bodies and soules,) an ungratefull and a cruell tyrant, in murtherring of the priests. But marke what was the end, even such as the proceedings, *The wrath of the Lord came upon him and his*, and a small company of the Assirians routed their great host; he spoyled the land in giving all to the enemies; The Lord smote his heart which cowardyse, and his body with diseases, his servants conspiring against him, slew him, & he wanted the honour of a kingly buryall. The speciall cause of his death is set downe to be *the shedding of the innocent bloud of Iehoiadaes sonne*. The like example wee haue in *Rehoboam*, who forsaking the good counsell of the vvise and ancient, and following the counsell of young and heady Courtiers, set himselfe besides the throne.

Not to take up time with instances, I will but touch some of our owne nation. *Sigibert* King of the West Saxons, hated good counsell so much, that he killed *Combranus* his faithfull Concellor; the rest taking indignation at that, conspired against him, & thrust him from the throne, who seeking shelter in a wood was found by *Combranus* his swineheard, who killed him because he slew his Master. *Edward* the second, not hearkening to the counsell of his dying Father, namely, *that he should take beede of loose counsell*; but following the Counsell of the *Spensers* and *Gaveston*, lost his Crowne, and his life. So *Richard* the second, rejecting the counsell of the three noble Dukes, as I shewed you, and following the vvill of the two Earle Marshalls, one after another, brought not onely himselfe to disgrace and ruin, but also, by his fall, that fire of civill war was kindled, which was not quenched but by an ocean of English bloud. One instance more in *James* the third, King of Scottes; who being of an ingenuous disposition, and a Prince of much

*Vt Leo a
catulis ex-
tingueretur.*

hope; yet, through custome and euill counsell being corrupted, became a very unhappy Prince, for casting of his Nobilitie, and addicting himselfe to the beastly humors of a few base fellowes, as *Preston, Cocheran, English Roger, & Andrew a Phisitian*, he spared not his owne bloud. So he runne from one euill to another, till in the midway, that overtook him, which *Magitians* told him, & he feared (for he was much addicted to divination) namely, that the *Lyon* should be torne of his owne whelps.

One reason more, which might make Princes to be choysed in their counsel, may be this. In my reading I haue observed great ones, miscarried by corrupt counsellours, to haue cryed out when it was too late. An example wee haue in *Theodorick Marquies of Brandenburgk*; who being of a haughtie spirit, not hearkening to the counsell of the wise; but to the counsell of the vicious and proud, he ran unto all kind of tyranny, and insolency. At last, abusing one *Mistovius* a Vandalian king, provoked him by his rayling speeches to forsake Christianitie (for he was christened and marryed to the Duke of Sax his sister;) *Theoderick* rashly adventured with his owne forces, to giue him fight: who being defeated, was banished from his dominions for ever, hated of all, forsaken of his friends, and lived extremely poore in *Madburgh* upon the Almes of the Monkes. Being thus brought low, with many teares, he confest his outrages in particular, and that by them he had justly provoked the wrath of God against him. This he regrated much, that he could never endure sound counsell, but followed such wicked and corrupt counsellors, as soothed his humor, and were bellowes to all his bloody designs.

*Excitati
ago iram
Dei aduer-
sus me.*

*George Sa-
bin: in vita
Theodor:*

So you see, how mislead Princes, in the midst of their misery, can see the euill of euill counsell. I could bring more examples, but let this suffice.

*Elige tibi
conciliarios
Deum si.*

Notwithstanding of all these waighty reasons, this rule is not regarded. *Augustine* giveth excellent counsell, if Princes and Generalls would hearken to it, *Choose to thy selfe* (saith he)

counsellors feaſuring God, loving the truth: for flatterers with a faire ſhew deceive, and kill the ſoules of thoſe that hearken to them. But alas, few or none looke to this. A forme changing Proſperus; a treacherous Seianus, a time-ſerving Abiathar; a ſtatiſhing Archithophel; a calumniating Doeg, are the onely counſellers. Is not civill honeſtie the moſt, that by moſt is looked for? who looketh for religious pietie, or truth of religion? "Constantine tryed his courtiers fidelitie to him, by their pietie towards God; but now a man truly religious, is thought unfitteſt of all for State affaires. They cannot ſay (it may be) but that he is an honeſt man, but with this conditionall, if he were not a ranck Puritane. Men ſhew what they are by their practice. Many Counſellers of this age are like thoſe of Ceſars. They make Kings beleieve what they liſt, and doe what themſelves liſt. Nero was bade enough of himſelfe, yet wicked counſellours made him worſe. They were alwayes buzzing in his eare; What Sir, will you ſuffer this? what neede you to feare? know you not that you are Ceſar, and that you haue power over all, but none hath power over you? I will conclude this point with that ſpeech of Comineus a man of much experience, out of which, all Princes & people, may pick a leſſon. Where wiſe counſell is rejected and novices and noddies, and arrant aſſentators, are ſet up in their place, the ruine of that realme and Prince is nigh at hand.

Thus you ſee I haue gone a long in theſe circumſtances of counſell, making a mixed applicacion of them as occaſion was given, both to civill and martiall affaires.

mentes & veritatem amantes, ſepe enim adulatores blanda facie decipiunt animas audientium, & interimunt. Epist. ad Iulian. Comitem. "Qui ſuo nummi fidei non ſunt, nec mihi Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 11. de vita Constant. Bonus vir G. Sejus, ſed in hoc tantum malus quia Christianus Tertull. lib. 3. Apolog. Tu hac pateris? tu hoc times? ignoras te Cæsarem eſſe, teque illorum potestatem habere non illos tuis? Xiphilinus Nerone.

CHAPT. XXIII.

Of the particularities of the Counsell of War.

NOW I come more cloſe to my proper ſubject of war, wherein I brieflie meane to ſhew what is the object

object of this counsell; what is the ground of it, and how should be carried.

The object of the counsell of war is, whatsoever may accommodate themselves, and incommode the enemy. Yea they are to be acquainted as much as may be, with the enemies affaires, forces and counsell; As what number they be; what kind of forces they be, whether horse or foot, what disposition they are of; what be their Armes, defensive and offensive; and what Armes they are best at. *Vegetius*

*Difficile
vincitur qui
vere potest
de suis, &
de adversarii
copiis judi-
care.*

*Lib. 3. cap.
26.*

*Stratag. lib.
2. cap. 2.*

giveth a good reason for this, *he is hardly overcome that can truly judge or discern of his owne and his adversaries forces.* For the discovery of the adversaries counsell, as it is of great use; so some Generals have not onely been carefull in the discovery; but have made great attempts for the effecting of it. As *Cato* in the Spanish war, being very desirous to discover the enemies counsell, and seeing no ordinary means to effect it; caused 300 souldiers breake in upon the enemies campe, who brought one of the saide campe safe away to the Generall, out of vvhom he extorted the secrets of the enemy. The discovery of the King of *Arams* counsell by the Prophet *Elisha*, was great advantage to the King of *Israel*. *King. 6. 29.* Beware (saith the Prophet) thou passe not suth a place; for thither the *Sirians* are come dovne. Euen in this respect as for others, the Lord is called *an excellent man of war*, because he knowveth the forces, the counsell, and Armes of the adversary. In this, the diligence of the common enemy doth both blame us and shame us. The devill is a *busie Bishop*. They vvaunt no spies; they spare no paines, nor charges, vvhereby they may discover and frustrate, all the attempts of Gods forces for his ovvne cause. That serpentine brood (of the devill, or rather devills themselves, as one calleth them) affoordeth all kinds of counsellours, some *dormient*, some *couchant*, some *rampant*, some vvalking, yea creeping & flying abroad for discoveries. The Duke of *Bavariaes* letter to *Richard Blond*, *Provincial* in England (vvherein he thanks him for his paines

and

and diligence for the Romish See, and Catholique Cause) doth directly discover what weekly intercourse is between the said *Blond* and the Pope, notwithstanding of Romes distance from England. As for *Blonds* interest in some of the *Bedchamber*, mentioned in that letter, I will not meddle with it. It were good then they were encountered with the like diligence and industry. *Paulus Æmilius* discovered the ambushment of the Boians, by the flying of Birds in the Truscan war. For the fowles being affrighted from the wood, the councell sent out a scout-watch, and discovered ten thousand in ambushment. So by the flying of these black-birds of Rome, their subtilties in war, and infidelity in peace, vvith carefulnesse might be discovered. The Doctors of *Doway* obserue from *Nubrigensis*; upon the opening of *Elisbaes* servants eyes, that a husbandman in York-shire, named *Kettle*, had the gift to see evill spirits, whereby he often detected and hindred their bad purposes. As by this lye, they vvould make footing for their feigned miracles; so indeed the Lords Armies had need of scaled eyes, wherewith to discern those Legionary spirits, who are digging through the vvall to raze down the foundation.

Lib. 2. cap.
21. ver.
Anglic.
2 King. 6.
17.

But some vvith *Gallio* care not for these things; some see them but wil not see; some underhand doe countenance them; and some with the *faint-hearted spies*, dare say little or nothing to them. But it is to be feared, that these evill spirits will proue like a Hecticke, once openly discovered, never cured but by a miracle.

Applica. 10.

CHAP. XXV.

Gods word the ground of Counsell.

IT followeth in the next proper place to shew whence this counsell should come, *the ground whereof should be the word of God.* For although the Scripture be not an *Encyclopedi*a of all the particulars of every Science; yet in it there may be found a *Systeme* of all sciences; it being the Mistress to whom all Sciences are handmaids. Yea, this directs the ordering of all true principles and conclusions. No better Philosophy, Logick, or Metaphysick, then in the book of God. No better counsel or direction for war or peace, then there is to be found. Hence the Word is called by the name of *Council*. *I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsell of God: Thy Testimonies are my delight* (saith the Prophet *Isa. 20. 27* *David*) *my counsellours, or the men of my counsell.* The charge given to the King of Israel, concerneth all Kings in the world, and they that will thrive in peace or war, must obey it; namely, that they haue Gods Law-book continually with them, that they should reade it, that they may learn to fear God, to avoid sin; yea, by this rule all their doings should be so ordred, that they should not decline from *Deu. 17. 18* *to the left hand, or to the right.* So the like direction was given to *Ioshua*, who was to fight the battels of the Lords. *The book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night.* *Ios. 1. 8.*

Both reason and experience confirmeth this position, what work can teach a man so well to war as the book of God, who is the excellent man of War. Again, hath ever any Warriours paralleled those who haue had their rules and direction

directions from God? Witnesse *Moses, Iosua, David*, and the
rest, Haue all the Worthies come nigh one of these? Adde
to these reasons *the nature of the Word*, vvhose proper en-
comy it is, to *make a man perfect to every good work*. Since
lawfull war is a good vwork, and that of a high nature, the
word must not onely fit men for the undertaking of it, but
also for the happy managing of it, to Gods glory, and the
undertakers good. It is a sure Canon in Theologic, *That the*
word of God is not onely the Canon of our faith and life, but al-
so of our Calling, whatsoever it be, from the King to the Porter.
Would to God we would all obserue it. This may very well
be said to be that Tower of *David*, built for an Armory,
vvherein *a thousand shields doe hang*, even all the Targets of
the mighty men: for whether vve understand thereby the
Tropies of Christs triumph, hung upon the neckes of the
faithfull; or that *Panopli*, or compleat armour spoken of in
the *Ephesians*; yet all this we attain unto by the Word, *A-*
lexander carryed *Homers* works ever vvith him, *as the furni-*
ture of his iourney: and *Cyprian* used ever and anon, to call
for *Tertullian* his Master.

Cant. 4:4

the seg-
telas e-
podion.

Oh that those that fight the Lords battels, or hath inte-
rest in them; would take this course with the Word, that
they might say with the Prophet *David*, *Thy Commandements*
re. wish me; and that they would cast away prophane Pam-
phlets, plague play-bookes, and froathy complements of
idle loue; for as these become not Christian warfare; so I
am sure that *Homer*, and all the *Tacktick* Writers, and rules
of Military Discipline in the world, are notable, vvithout
his, to teach a man the Art of War. And therefore *David*
giveth a good reason of his foresaid resolution, that the
Word should ever be vvith him; *Thou through thy commande-*
ments hast made me wiser then mine enemies. If it be objected
that many great Warriours, and victorious Conquerours,
never knew vvhat this Word vvas. I answer, *Great* they were
indeed, but not good. And vvhat gaine they by their great-

Applica-
tion.
Psa. 119.98

nesse, but the greater torments? especially they vvhoe live in the light of the Word, and yet vwill not be guided by it. This Word doth stretch it selfe through the vvorlde as an infallible rule to vvalke by; but, *Who beleeueth the report of it? Who vvalketh by the rule of it? Wisedome standeth without and cryeth; vwithouth indeed, for she cannot come in.* Counsel for the Popes war is brought by the froggs from the bottomlesse pit, vvhether *Ignatius* lyeth Leager for the State. Professedly, they doe disclaim the Word, and the Popes unwritten Villanies, must be both the ground and guide of all his War.

As for the Atheist; *Matchiauels* rules, or vvorise, are his chiefe guide, vwith vvhom the Papists doe vwillingly joyne hands. As for the hypocrite and carnal professors, vvhether the Papist speaketh blasphemously of the Word, he maketh good in his profession; namely, he useth it like a *Nose of Wax*; it must be stampd and cast in vvhether mould he vvil haue it: but he vwill not be cast by it, as in a mould; it shal not square his conscience, nor his actions; but he must square and pare it at his pleasure: yea, such vwill haue nothing to command in all actions, but the great canon of *Protopolatria*, or humane authority. In a vvord, in effect they say, *The word shall not raaigne over them*, but they vvil raaigne over it and the conscience too, though it be *Gods Cabonet*, not fit for man to sit in.

Gods forces must likewise acknowledge their guilt herein: vwith this Armorie they are not so acquainted as they should be and must be indeed, before things goe well. This vwould clear the judgement, reform the life, overcome passions, kindle zeale, temper vwith discretion, incourage the heart, strengthen the spirits. In a vvord, it vwould make a *truly valiant man*. If we would but take this *sling of David*, we should not want a *stone* to beat out *Goliaths* braines. But every peece of this is like *Sauls armour*, too heavy for flesh and bloud to beare, further then in bare discourse. But there must

must be a denyall of flesh & bloud, before in our courtes wee can be happy heere, or heereafter. It is reported of a king of Aragon (to his no small prayse) that besides his other literature, (wherein even in the time of war he much delighted) and besides his love to the learned (whom he honored and used as his speciall counsellours, both in peace and in war) that notwithstanding of his many waighty affaires, he read the Bible ouer foureteene severall times, with the speciall comments upon it. I wish heartily, that all Gods warriours would make this word the treasure of their study, and that as I haue said it might *alwayes be with them*, for therein is the fullness of counsell.

Neyther will a superficiall looke, or a bare taste thereof, εὐακύνω
serue to make the persons happy or the affaires prosperous: πλουσίως
but as the Apostle saith, it must *dwell plentifully or richly*; the Col. 3. 16.
word doth significantly presse, that it must alwayes be with us. Wee must be the house, & it the furniture. It is not a lapping of this word as the doggs doe of Nilus; nor a talking with it, and of it, while it is without dores; but there must be a diligent *searching* into it, as a man would dig for the finding of the richest treasure, *Iohn. 5. 39.* So did those truly noble men of *Thessalonica*, they searched duely for the truth, *Acts. 17.* There be too too many now of *Leo* the tenth, stamp, that say in effect, *they find no profit in the fable of the word*, for so called, that blasphemer, the doctrine of Christ. And some are, like *Agrippa*: *they are almost perswaded by it*, but it is, but *almost*: but it must *dwell richly* in us, that is, as our onely treasure, as *David*, did wisely esteeme of it, as you may see through all the *119. Psalme*, as *his richest treasure*.

CHAP. XXV I.

Gods Ministers the disposers of this sacred Counsell.

BVt as the word of God must dwel plenteously, so must be used wisely; So saith the Apostle, *in all wisdom.* As this word is Gods speciall treasure, whereby he disposeth all his mercies towards his; so he hath ordayned disposers and dispensers of his sacred wisdom, namely, his *Ministers*, who are to *stand betweene him and his people in things appertaining to God.* Hence it followeth that such stewards must dispose this counsell, as well in war as in peace. As Kings haue their Counsellours, and Courts haue their learned Counsell, to giue them the law: so God maketh choyce of these, and calleth them from amongst the sonnes of men to be his Counsellours and Embassadors, to deliver his will, and counsell to their bretheren.

The necessitie of such disposers, and the reasons.

The necessitie of such in war ariseth from these grounds. First, from the depth of the mystery, which they are to dispose, and the greatnes of the worke they doe undertake: for *who is sufficient for these things?* Secondly, from the indisposition of man to understand, or teach, this mystery, except a man be sent from God to informe him: *how can I* (saith the *Ennuch*) *understand, except I haue a guide?* *Ananias* must be sent to *Paul*, and *Peter* to *Cornelius*, that they may be instructed. It is a mad conceit of many in this age, that they know as much as the Minister can doe; yea, some will say they can teach as well as he, though they be not called of God; which indeed is to despise the gift of prophesy. I speake now of such an one as is called of God; for otherwise, many private men, are better to advise with. But it is not learning barely

barely, or an aptnesse to discourse, but there must be a setting a part of the man, with an endowment of power and authoritie, with a holy skill, to wound, to heale, to cast downe, to raise up, to instruct, rebuke, correct. In a word, to cast downe every strange thought that setteth it selfe against God. God calleth not every man to this; he gaue some to be Pastors, and some to be Teachers, not all. Thirdly, great are the enormities, that doe accompany warre (as I haue shewed) both in Commanders and in ordinary souldiers; and therefore, they had neede to be hedged in by the Lords husband-men, with the pale of the word. Fourthly, from their excellency, they are the greatest gift; saue Christ that ever was giuen to man, *A Prophet will I raise up from among their brethren, like unto thee.* In which words, though Christ be especially meant as *S. Luke* applyeth them, *Acts 3. 22. 23.* Yet they necessarily imply the giving of others; though Christ be the chiefe. God by the Prophet *Jeremie*, speaking of the desolation of his people, whereunto they were fallen by their owne sinnes, and wickednes of their for-lorn Priests, telleth them of a great blessing, *That he will set up shepheards over them, that shall feede them.* Such are called Gods in the booke of God, *I haue made thee a God to Pharaoh,* (saith the Lord of *Moses*.) namely, in bringing judgements, and removing of them. They are said by God himselfe in *Jeremie*, to stand in his counsell. And for their service with God, pietie and holines towards him, they are called *Angells*, Fifthly, for their industry & fidelitie, they are called *Secers, Watchmen.* *Elisha* kept Centinall against the King of Aram, over the King of Israel, when he slept. So the men of God in the armies of God, whether they sleep or wake, they are alwayes at Centinall. For though they sleepe as *Salomon* saith, *yet the heart is awake;* In this respect Ministers may well be called the *four beasts full of eyes, before and behind,* being round about the throne to watch and discover. As for their industrie and watchfulnes, they are the surest guard; so for

*Bello nulla
salus.*

D:nt. 18. 18

Jerem. 23. 4

Exod. 1.

Jer. 23.

Rev. 4.

their fidelitie and plainnesse they are the safest counsell
 Kings with *Antigonus*, and warriours with *Severus*, may al
 in those dayes goe out of the Court, out of the Counsell
 and out of the Camp to seeke *truth* because they cannot find
 it; but they shall find it with the *watchmen of Israel*. There
 were never indeed more vile and wicked flatterers, both in
 Courts, and Camps: for as *flesh-flies* and other Vermin, are
 bred out of the putrifaction of some humid matter, by unnat
 turall heat; so this kind of vile vermin is bred and fed out of
 the corruption of the times. What a swarme of Munkies
 and Marmozets and lingers, and Gnatoes are every where
 It is not my purpose to particularize their differences, but this
 may be said of them all, *they are the corrupters and ruine of King
 and Kingdoms*. To busie the reader with instances of this na
 ture, were but to prove that which no body denyeth: for *Dio
 clesian* one of the worst men that ever was, was so pestered
 with those flies, that from an Emperour he turned a Garde
 ner; & having observed (as *Flavius Vopiscus* observeth) of him,
all their villainies, he concludeth thus; *A good wise and vertuous*
 2. Sam. 15. *Prince is bought and sold by this people*; Yea *David*, a man
 after Gods owne heart, holding out against the cursing of
Shemei was overcome with the flattery of *Zyba*. Yet this one
 thing, is no lesse lamentable then remarkable, that though
 they be such *ravenous vipers*, and have eate out the bellies of
 so many great Ones; yet still they creepe into their bosomes,
 and are nourished by the selfe same heat which they doe ex
 tinguish; Yea, they cast King, and Court, and good counsell,
 and State, first in a *Marasmus*, or deadly Hectick, and then
 out at dores; yet for all this, who but they? *Comineus* giveth
 one cause of this, *because such doe best please the humours of Prin
 ces*. Princes love better those that are of *Placentia*, then those
 that are of *Verona*. They love the things that please, better
 2. Th. 1. 4. 21 then those that profit. *Plutarch* rendereth another cause,
 namely, they are often touching that string that Princes much
 affect, namely, *their owne prayser*, in things many times not
 prayse.

praisable, which flatterers can cunningly effect, by palliating their vices, with the seeming vicinity of some vertues: „ As the despising of his people, they will term it a Princely inawing of them; the imposing of what he pleaseth upon them, an improvement of his prerogative Royall; „ the doing of all out of his own devise, the singularity of wit, or quintessence of policy. Secondly, they vwill make them belecue, they are affected and praised of others, and then it is as wel as can be, when indeed there is nothing lesse.

But to leaue their shifts, and the great Ones evils that accreweth upon them; my purpose is to point out the remedy, and the Physitian; namely, that *plain-dealing Word*, from the mouth of the *man of God*; against the venome of those Aspes, and the poyson of all the sinnes which they loue to palliate; I know no better Physitian then a good Minister. That saying of *Gordianus* is most true, and worthy the memory, *That miserably is that Prince from whom the truth is concealed.* And *Lewis* the 11, complained that this one thing wanted in his Court. Yea, sundry great Princes haue gone in private manner amongst their subjects to un-bowle the truth. But this is the way for Court and Camp, to haue the *Trumpet of truth* in it, that dare not, nor will not lye, or flatter. This impartiall dealing and plain-course, is set forth at large in *Deuteronomy*, where *Moses*, by the spirit of prophesie declareth the excellency of the Tribes, and the blessings that should be upon them; upon *Levi* (as he sheweth) should be *Vrim* and *Thummim*; yea, he should say of his father and his mother; *I respect him not. and his brethren he acknowledgeth not, and his sonnes he knoweth not.* Where, as there is Cb. 33. 7.
p. 10. an allusion, both to the commandement, *Lev. 21. 11. 12.*, and to the execution of the idolaters, *Exod. 32*: so the morality of it, is this, that Gods Ministers, gifted with *light* and *perfection*, shall giue every one his portion from the Word without partiality; yea, neither *Highnesse*, nor *nighnesse*, shall

make him play the *Huckster* with the Word. *Papinian* the Lawyer was never so plaine with *Caracalla*, nor *Ephesion*, so free with *Alexander*; nor *Mecenas*, so faithful to *Augustus*; as *Elijah* was plaine with *Ahab*; *John Baptist* free with *Herod*, and *Nathan* faithfull to *David*.

One instance amongst many is worth the noting. When the Gospel of God in the Northern parts of this land began to be set on foot, the devill bestirred him exceedingly in the enemies of the Gospel; *Queen mother* of the house of *Guer*, with the Scottish Papists, and her French Forces, did so overtop the Lords, and others of the Congregation, that with griefe enough they were compelled to quit *Edenburgh*; and to goe to *Sterueling*: where a man of God made a worthy Sermon, in his application much lamenting the confusion that was come upon them, but more their finnes vvhich were the cause. And as he had the Duke, and other Nobles for his Hearers, so he gaue him and all the rest their portion, shewing their particular faylings in that businesse, which they all intainted as from God; and acknowledging their sinns, they were mightily encouraged, and began to wax strong, so that by Gods mercy in the end they prevailed, as hereafter you shall hear.

Last of all, the necessity of such doth appear, in the happy successe of such Warres, as haue made use of them. Was not *Elifha* better to the King of Israel, then all his strength and counsel beside? *Eleazar* was joyned with *Ioshua*, the Priests bare the Arke and blew the Trumpets in the Lords warre; for that was the Lords appointment, *Numb. 1. 10. & 31. 6*. One instance may serue for many, namely, of that great battel betwixt *Abijah* King of Iudah, and *Ieroboam* King of Israel: Where *Ieroboam* had the oddes in forces, to the number of three hundred thousand men; yet *Abijah* by his oration, sheweth that he was confident he had the better. And why? Because (saith he) *God is with us for our Capitaine; and his Priests with sounding Trumpets, to cry alarum against you.*

Where you see that *Abijah* conceived and that truly
 that he had great oddes of *Ieroboam*, even in this particular,
 that he had the Priests of the Lord, and they the Priests of
 Idols. We may see how much the Priests and Prophets are
 esteemed in warre, even of the wicked, by *Balaams* desiring
 of *Balak* to come and curse the people of God. The ho-
 nourable esteem that *Balaam* had of *Balak*, appeareth in this
 that he went out to meet him: Yea, the Iewes in their rebelli-
 on against *Adrian*, the Emperour, had their *Bar Cochab*, that
 was the son of the Scarre. And so hath the Romish *Iesuites*.
 And as to the Iewes finall undoing, he proved *Bar Cochab*, the
 man of falshood; so shall the Iesuites proue in the end, when
 their seduced Crue shall see themselves deceived. Who
 taught *Ioshua* the King of Israel, to smite his enemies, but
 the Prophet *Elisha*, 2 King 13. 14? I will add but one in-
 stance more very memorable and admirable. In the warres
 in Scotland, for the establishing of the Gospel, the Protec-
 tant Army being nigh *S. Andrews*, resolved upon
 deliberation not to goe thither, by reason of the Queens
 great forces in and about it: that godly Minister spoken of
 before (being with them in all their troubles) told the Ar-
 my that he was resolved to preach there the next day, being
 the Lords day. According to which resolution he takeh his
 bible, and goeth on. When he came to the Citie, the Queen
 and her forces were fled for fear. That night, and the next
 day, he taught; laying open the haynonsnesse of the sin of
 idolatry, pressing the Magistrates with the ejecting of it,
 and erecting of Gods true vvorship; which so wrought up-
 on their hearts that the effect followed. Yea, that very act by
 Gods blessing, was the very break-neck of Babel in those
 parts.

Thus you see the grounds cleared for the necessity of such
 sacred Councillours in Gods Warres; wherein I haue been
 the larger, because (howsoever this is universally slighted
 over, as a matter of least moment) yet if it be judi-
 ciously

ously and religiously weighed, it shall proue a point of the greatest importance.

Doeth reason direct men to provide good souldiers, a good Generall, good Officers, a good Phisitian, a good Chirurgeon, and shall they neglect the providing of a good Minister, of whom I may say truely, that in an Army he is both *Fabius and Marcellus*, a sword and a bucklar?

Appli-
cations.

But by how much the necessity of such is the greater, much the more is the neglect and contempt of such to be regrated. Neither in peace nor warr are the Watchmen of God in their deserved esteem. The counsell and command of such, by men of all sorts (as it is from God) should be obeyed and followed. God commandeth us to obey such as haue the oversight of us, and to haue them in singular esteem for the works sake. They that murmur against such, they murmur against God; and they that reject such they reject God. If *Elijah* be found out, he is charged to be the enemy of the State, because he speaketh the truth. They that be indeed the troublers of Israel, doe falsely charge it upon the Watchmen of Israel. Time-serving *Amaziah* will conjure *Amos* from the Court, and the Kings Chappell. Lying *Hananiah* will not stand to contest against God himself speaking by *Jeremiah*. If *Micaiah* will not sooth with a lie to destruction, hee must be hated and beaten for the truth, *Zedekiah* giveth him a box on the ear, and then setteth him packing, or fast by the heeles.

In a word, if the man of God with the Apostle *Paul*, deliver painefully, faithfully and freely, the whole counsell of God, presently charged with conspiracie, against the State, & the land cannot beare the words of such an one. God indeed hath given such counsellors, but the rebellious of this time cannot brooke them; cyther they choake them, or chop them on the cheeke. Our case and Israells is much alike. *I rayssed up your sonnes for prophets* (saith God by *Amos*) *& your young men for Nazarites*, but how doe they use them? They

...ne their Nazarites wine to drinke, and commanded their Pro- Amos 2.11
 phets saying prophesie not. It is holden a great policie now for
 Micah, that his word be like one of the rest, and that he speake
 good, whatsoever come of it: but a Micah indeed dare not
 ally for a world, but whatsoever the Lord saith that he will
 speake: Men had best looke to it, for whosoever he be that
 keepeth backe one iote of Gods counsell, for feare of the
 face of a mortall man, shall never be able with Paul to make a
 comfortable account of his Embassye to God, which is far
 better for a Minister then life it selfe. Yea, this huckstering of
 Gods counsell, is the very way to bring the Minister to a
 fearfull, visibie and exemplarie confulsion. The speech of
 God to Ieremie, should be the word in the Ministers Banner:
*Stand up thy loines and arise, & speake unto them all that I command
 thee, be not dismayed at their faces, lest I consume thee before them.* Ier. 1. 17.

Indeed the faces of Kings and great Ones, especially
 Generals in a field, are full of feare and terrour to weake
 illie men, that carry no Armes but the Word. To this pur-
 pose the Sermon of one Gregory, Preacher to Fredericke, Duke
 of Saxon, (a man much approved by Luther) is not un-
 worthie your view. This man dealing roundly in the Dukes
 audience against the sinnes of the time, being somewhat
 afraid to smite at the Princes sinnes in a publique place, he
 came home to him very handsomely, with this similitude.

A Preacher (saith he) is not unlike to one that uncaseth
 a Hare; it is an easie matter to uncase or take the skin of
 all the body; but when he cometh to the head, there is
 all the difficultie, there it taketh him tugging: even so, a
 Preacher may freely reprove the sinnes of the people, for
 in that there is no matter of feare; but when he cometh to
 the head (pointing his hand to the Prince) there is the diffi-
 cultie, there matter of feare presenteth it selfe, & yet it must
 be done as well as the rest. The like freedome of speech, did
 Frederick Bishop of Vtricke, use by way of parable, to Lodovick
 Pius the Emperour, as he sate at dinner with him, being
 newly

11.2.1000

Raunlpb.
in Poly-
chronic lib.
5. cap. 29.
Anno 1363

Lib. 1. de
rep. Eucl.
pag. 28.
Sect. 13.

Serm. in
Rom 13.
pag. 18.

newly consecrated Bishop, the Emperour willed him to remember his office, without respect of persons: for which admonition, the Bishop humbly thanked him, and asked him forthwith whither he should begin with the head of that fish that was before him or with the tayle; the Emperour replied with the head, as the chiefest member. It is well said the Bishop, then breake you of your incestuous Match with *Iudith*: which the Emperour did for a time, but the Pope upon a penitentiary mulct of some thousands of Crowns made up the Match againe, and *Iesabel* caused the Bishop for his freedome of speech to be slaine in the Church. These were honeste men, though the one a *Dominick Monk* & the other a Bishop, then that *Protean Bandoog Spalato*, whole *Dalmatian Pal* hath proved but a *P.*, to the English Church. Amongst the rest of his Sicophantish knaveries he hath this flat against the Word, *That the faults of Princes may not in any hand be taxed in publique, by whatsoever authoritie: where in*, sure he shewed him selfe a greater friend to his owne guts, then to the states and soules of Princes. And yet we want not such *Black-birdes* in our owne *Pulpits*, who under the name of *White*, vent this *blacke position*, *that Ministers are not to enforce Gods command upon Princes*. Iudge you by this what fearfull times we live in, indeed the high Crest of authority thinketh much to stoupe to the word of a weake man (as they conceive it). What saucie fellows did *Pharao* esteeme *Moses* and *Aaron*, that they should will him from God to let his people goe. Shall the worlds *Minions*, deified with flattery; or *Mars* his favorites, adorned with *trophees*, and attended with triumphes, submit and render at the blast of a trumpet? yes indeed, that word that can make the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the lame to goe, yea the dead to rise, can command the greatest Commander in the world. Yea, if a man were commander of the vvhole vworld, he must eyther by this vword be *Commanded*, or *condemned*. See the prooffe of this in that powerfull discourse of *Paul* before *Felix*. As he reasoned

reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgement to come, Felix trembled. Tertullus, and all the smooth-tongued pick thanks under his government, could not haue kept him out of this fit.

Att. 24 25

These Counsellours are not to be slighted, because the contempt of them, is not onely a fearfull prognostick of future ruine, but also a main moving cause, vwhy the Lord vvill destroy both Prince and people.

Amongst many others, there is a pregnant place for this in the second booke of the Chronicles, *And the Lord God of their fathers sent to them by his Messengers, rising up betimes and sending them, because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling place: but they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words and misused his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord arose against his people till there was no remedie.*

Cha: 36. 13
16.

The worth of a worthy Minister, is not knowen but in time of distresse, and not then, but to those whom the Lord hath taught how to esteeme of him, heathens, Pagans & papists, may challenge us of our neglect of this. Were ten Nestors so much worth to Agamemnon, one Sopirns to Darius, one Cineas to Pirrhys, what is Gods Aaron to his people? what is Nathan to David, and Elisha to Ioash? The Grecians would not part with their Orators on no condition. The Romanes had a great care of their Dogges that kept their Walls. So the Geese that with their cry did awake the watch, when the enemies were about to surprise the Capitol, were in great esteeme with the Romanes, insomuch that their food was allotted by a publique decree, wherewith they were to be fed in the Capitol. Yea in great scarfiue of food, they would not touch them. Will you see what honour Balac the King of Moab, did to Balaam the false prophet; he goeth out to meete him, euen to the outmost border of his land. Deut. 22. 36. What honour were Baals priests in, that eate bread at the Kings table? The papists glory much, and giue us often in the teeth, with that honour they giue to their shauellings. Gondomar, (for an instance) made great bragges of this, that

Sagacissimos canes in curribus nutritiabant.

Viget. lib. 2 cap. 26.

Anseribus cebaria publice locantur in Capitolio.

Cic: pro Sex: Ro. 16

though he were the *Embassador of the great King*; and besides that he had a breech that was *not very bowable*; yet he might not an inch of his manners to *Blackwell* in the tower. False Prophets are with the wicked alwayes most in request, because they serve their lusts and please their humors. *Balaam* would not let *Aaron* haue so much as a bit of bread, or draught of water; but *Balaam* I warrant you wanted no dainties. *Ioash* King of Israel was no good man, and yet how did he honour, & loue, with the best loue he had, *Elisha* the Prophet. When the man of God was a dying he commeth to him, & vweeping over him, cryeth out, *Oh my father, my father, the chariot and the Horsmen of Israel*. *Alexander* the great came downe from his horse and entertained *Iaddo* the high Priest of Hierusalem vvith all reverent respect.

2. King. 13
14.

Applicatio. All these and many more examples, may condemne the neglect of this in the Professors of Christ. But vvee had best looke to it: for neglect or contempt of Gods Messengers in time of peace, maketh a vvoefull vwant of them in time of vvar, especially vvhen the good spirit of God hath left the soule. *Saul* in his peace vvould haue no Prophet, but such as vv ere of his ovvne stampe, and pleased his humor; therefore instead of *Samuel*, he had none but the devill to answer him in the day of his distresse: could all Baals Prophets, and his *full-fed trencher-chaplaines*, say nothing to him? No never a vvord, they vv ere all to seeke. A false deceiving *Hananiah* vvith his hornes; a *Doeg* or doglike *Amaziah* accusing the bretheren; a furious boxing *Zedekiah* smiting Gods Ministers on the mouth, vvill prove but miserable comforters in the day of danger. Therefore they must be Gods Ministers indeed; and not barely in name, of the Lords ovvne sending, that are Counsellours in vvarr. As of al the heavenly creatures, that ever God made, a good Angell is the best, but a bad Angell is become the vvorst; so of all the sonnes of men, a good Minister is the best, and therefore called an Angell; but a bad Minister the vvorst and therefore

therefore may bee called a *Deuill*. As all Gods Saints are his peculiar Iewels; so his Messengers are the *Star-shining-Diamonds* amongst the Iewels. A mans state is but weak when he pawneth or putteth away his Iewels. But it is a note of ignominie for a Prince to pawn his Crown. Gods faithfull Ministers are the Crowns and Iewels of the Kingdom. All the Iewelrie of Venice is not worth one of them.

A question was put once, what Forreignes had received the richest gifts out of the Tower. One answered, the Spaniard, another answered not so; for the *Duke of Bulloin* had carryed the richest Iewell out of the Tower, that ever was in it: yea, such an one as was worth all the rest, and the *Arch-duchesses inventory* besides. Those Princes wrong themselves much (saith a learned Author) that send such Iewels out of the land; because they may stand in need of them, when they cannot be had. I haue knowne some of the black crue, on their death-bed, to haue cryed out and roared for comfort, from such Ministers, whose presence in their health they haue hated, and whose persons they haue persecuted; besides others, instance that *Maule of the Ministry*, and arch-persecutor; the first letters of whose name were Sir P. M. having persecuted in his life, with cruel persecution, that holy Father, M. R. B. in dispaire at his death, he sent sundry to seek him, but neither the man of God, nor the fauour of God could be found. God giue others of his stamp to look to it in time; for as there be many haters and persecutors of Gods Ministers against the light, so I see, or reade, but of a very few reconciled to God. Of all the gifts that ever God gaue to a people, such a Iewel as I shewed is the very best. Witnes that saying of God by the Prophet *Ieremy*; Amongst many blessings promised upon repentance, hee promiseth to giue them a good *Pastour*, as the Crown of all the rest. *And I will giue you Pastors according to mine heart, which shall feede them with knowledge and understanding.* But of all the plagues that

1er. 3. 18.

that ever God threatned against a people, or brought upon a people, a Counterfeit Iewel is the very worst. Winckle like
Chap. 2. 11. wise the Lord, by the Prophet Micah. If a man walking in the spirit and falshood, doe lie saying; I will prophesie unto thee of wine and of strong drinke, he shall even be the Prophet of this people.

Let Gods Warriours then take heed of such as God hath not sent; of Wolues in Sheeps cloathing, beware of vile pontificall Iason, who for gain vvill betray the Citie and the Sanctuary to abominable Antiochus; Let Nehemiah beware of couzening Shemaiah, vvho under a colour of saving his life, would earn the hire of iniquity; from Tobiah and Samballet, by suggesting false feares to disgrace him, and to bring an evill report upon Gods Generall. So man-pleasing Vriah is also to be looked to, vvith vvhom change is no robbery; namely, to chop out the Altar of God, and in the Altar of Damascus. Take heed likewise of the Turn-coat Levite, at the rate, of who vvill giue most. And likewise of the belly-god Chop-church, the Bisteepled, or Tristeepled metaphisicall ubiquitarie; the enemy to the crosse of Christ, the maker of merchandize of Gods vvord. Never one of this crew vvill doe good, but hurt. These cannot make up the breach, nor
Ezech. 13. 5 rise up in the gap, nor stand in the battell of the day of the
Hosia 9. 8. Lord; yea, the Lord calleth such snares, and fowlers, in the way of the people, and hatred in the house of God.

In the name of God then, let Gods Lieftenants get such as are of God, such as are the Chariots and Horsemen of Israel, and they vvill teach them to smite their enemies, as Elisha did Iosh. The ordering of the Lords Army by his own appointment, is an excellent pattern for all others in this point. Moses and Aaron, with the Priests and Levites, vv ere quartered about the Tabernacle, between the Sanctuary and the Tribes of Israel, and as they were next unto the holy place, and kept Centinal there continually, so they were the first that moved in the March,

Numb. 2. Neither vvas it onely so in the Camp of Israel, but also in the Camp of the new Ierusalem, (vvhere God hath his Throne,) You may see the like, namely between Gods Throne, and the 24 Elders compassing it; There are foure *living creatures full of eyes*, glorifying God night and day, after whom the 24 Elders fall down and worship God. *Rev. 4. 8.*
This me thinkes should be a strong motive to all Gods forces, to take this course, since none can giue better order for incamping then God himselfe. Vntill the time such Centinall be set, such Watch be kept, such Counsellours be followed, and such Commanders in the first place be obeyed: giue me leaue to be plain: the Lord will not be with us. But if this cause be taken, as I hope it shall, I durst pawn my life for it, that Gods enemies should flee before us with shame enough to their faces.

As the croaking froggs, *the Iesuites*, are the incendiaries of warre; so it must be undertaken and continued at their pleasure. What warre by the Papists hath been undertaken, since they began to flourish, but they haue had a speciall hand in it? It is true, as *Renigius Nantelius*, a Dane, doth discover, that the Iesuites went not personally to warre, before the Prince of *Parmes* going into France, about the year, 1595, because they thought it a disgrace to their Clergie, and a breach of a Law made against it, so to doe, but with a *non obstante*, sundry ensignes of them followed the said Prince, with their Chariots, and all furniture; yea, with their banners, after the manner of Princes, therunto ambitiously annexed: they gaped (as the Author saith) for honour and spoile; wherof they did assure themselves, if the Prince had subdued the French: For it should haue been their prayers onely, that moved God to giue the overthrow to their enemies. But they counted before their *Hoff*,, and so they were deceived in the reckoning. Yet for all this they cease not to ply it, assuring all that fight for *the beast* that it shal goe well with them. Their large promises of heaven, of
S 3 victory,

*In rationali
Iesuitarum.*

*Tripertis.
bist lib. 12.
cap. 1.*

Deut. 28. 7.

Esa. 1. 19.

victory, of pardon, of freeing of their friends out of Purgatory, and soyling and rooting out of their enemies, maketh me call to minde a blasphemous brag of that cursed Heretick Nestorius, made Prelate of Constantinople by Theodosius, to whom he speaketh thus in a Sermon. *O Caesar purge me the land of Hereticks (meaning the true worshippers of God) and I shall give thee heaven; help thou me to root them, and I shall help thee to overcome thine enemies.* For this hee was called, *πυροφδορος*, or *fiing-fire*, in French *Bon te feu*. Iust so, the frogges of the bottomlesse pond doe croak and call together the Kings of the earth to the battle of *Armageddon*, with this encouragement, *“Root out those pestilent Heretickes, quit your Dominion of them, and besides the peace and prosperity with plenty and obedience from your loyall Catholike subjects, you shall haue heaven hereafter, as sure as the Pope himselfe, who hath the disposing of it. But how they haue speed and prospered that haue followed their counsell I shall haue occasion to shew hereafter. And as they are of their fathers the Devill, and with lying words deceiue men; so I will assure you upon the word of God, who cannot lie, that if you will procure such Ministers as are of God, warranting their Call by their life and doctrine, and hearken to such and obey them, as from the Lord; the Lord hath said it; He shall curse thine enemies that rise up against thee, to be smitten before thy face; they shall come against thee one way, and flee seven waies before thee. If you will be willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land. Where observe especially, that there must be a willing obedience, otherwise both the Minister and the meanes can doe no good.*

It is a vain thing, and the grossest point of Popery, to presume upon the ordinances, or the work done. This is to make the *Nest in the Clift of the rock*, out of which the Lord will bring every one down that so doth, for God thereby

is robbed of his glory, and the soule cozened when it cometh to reckon. The Trojans trusted foolishly to their *Paladium*, the *Astiatikes* to their *Pessimuntius*, the Romanes to their *Ancilia*, the Papists to the *Crosse* and holy-water; and the Israel of God, to the *Arke of God*. As the idolatrous Papist in any common calamity calls for the *pax*, and the *host*; so the Israelites caused bring the *Arke*, and putting carnall confidence in that, without any counsell asked of *Samuel*, or commandment from the Lord, it must be carryed out to battell. They were no better here then the uncircumcised Philistim, or rather worse; for they feared the *Arke* more then God; and his people trusted to the *Arke* more then to God; but the *Arke* was so far from saving them, that God gaue both them and it into the hands of the enemies. Yea, for their wickednesse, and vain confidence, the Lord so abhorred his own Ordinances, that he suffered them to be polluted with the *foule hand of the uncircumcised Philistim*, who had nothing to doe with them. In the very same predicament be our carnall Gospellers, who being confident upon the profession of the outward badges of Christian profession, as the Word and Sacraments, thinke all shall be well enough: they are baptized, they haue the Word and receiue the Sacraments, and they haue an excellent Teacher, and they frequent the house of God, and sit before the preacher, and commend both him and the Sermon; the Word is as a louely song, and they shew much loue to him with their mouthes, but there is one thing wanting which marrereth all; *They heare the words (saith God) but they will not doe them.*

*Ezech. 33.
31, 36.*

If the distressed people in the Palatinate, Bohemia, and Switzerland, examine the cause of their captivity in their own land; I belecue they shall finde their presuming on the meanes, with unanswerable walking, to haue deprived them of the means, and made *Ashur* to lie heavy upon them; their exemplary punishment giues an alarum from the Lord

to England and Holland, who presuming on some Watchmen upon the walls, and some manna about their tents, thinkes the Lord will never come against them, nor remove the Candlestick: but let them know, that except the deadnesse of Sardis, and the lukewarmnesse of Laodicea be really repented of; the Lord will pull them out of the *cliff of that rock*. Yea, and rather pollute his own Ordinances, then indure their mockerie. The Provinces may happily presume upon some purer reformation, and expulsion of the Antichristian Hierarchie; but I protest upon my knowledge, from the griefe of my soule, that they carry a name that they liue, but they are dead, both to the power of the Word and Discipline: for besides the infection of all plague heresies, that they keep warme amongst them; where is the power of the Word in Saboth keeping, family duties, gracious words, and holy walking? Where is the Pastor that can say, here am I, and they whom God hath given me? Where is the power of the Ministry, in shaking, of the hearts of great Ones? Who will not, like *Nob. 3. 5.* the Nobles of the Tekoits, put their neckes to the work of the Lord: Yea, their great ones in a manner, overtop both Word and Ministry; and (as their enemies speak) like many petty Popes, they make the power of both swords, serue onely humane policy; which as it is a justling out of Gods honour, in putting the Cart before the Horse; so it is a thing that God cannot bear; for hee is very jealous of his glory, and of the Scepter of his Kingdom. If the calamity of the aforesaid people cannot work; let them and us take a veiw of Scotland, the very paragon of true reformation, where there was not so much as one hoofe of the beast left; yea, where their tallest Cedars were made to stoupe at the foot of Gods Ordinances; yet for want of fruits worthy of so great a merieie, the Lord cast them in the furnace of affliction, as famine, sicknesse, dearth, and death; yea, which is worst of all, he hath suffered the

stinking

stinking carcasse of the interred whore, to be raked out of the graue, and the frogs of Egypt to swarm in Goshen, which is a great and fearfull wonder. What think you? Is Israel a servant? Is he a home-born slave? Why is he spoyled? *Isa. 2. 14.* *Eccl. 10. 17.* Hast not thou procured or deserved the like unto thy selfe, with us and them, might be humbled for this particular; for God doth threaten us if we doe not, that we shall goe forth from him, with our hands upon our head; yea, he will reject our confidences and we shall not prosper in them. *Ier. 2. 37.*

The injoying of the meanes, without the holy use of them, maketh men but the more lyable to the wrath of God. The word and works that were taught and wrought in Bethsaïda, made their case more woefull, then the case of Tyrus and Sydon. By how much higher Capernaum was lifted up to heaven in the plenty of the meanes; by so much lower was it prest down to hell in the abuse of the meanes. Take notice then, it is not the Temple of the Lord, nor the word of the Lord, nor the Prophets of the Lord, that will serue the turn, but labour to be Temples for the Lord to dwell in; *Let the word dwell plenteously in you;* yeeld obedience to all Gods comandements, and especially look to the keeping of the Saboth; hate all superstition, turn away your eyes from beholding vanity, especially from stage-plaies, the very theater of vanity, the chayre of the Devil, and the other masse-book of the Iesuite. Labour as much to doe as to hear, and make much of him that brings the message for the messages sake, and then be sure the Lord will blesse you: He shall blesse all those that blesse you, and curse all those that curse you; and the Viols of odours, which are the prayers of the Saints, shal one day descend upon the head of you and yours, like a precious ointment.

CHAP. XXVII.

The wise carriage of Counsell.

The discovery of the enemies counsell.

Egnat. l. 9.
cap. 8.

The secrecy of their own counsell.
Nulla consilia meliora sunt, quam illa que ignorant adversarius antequam faciat.

NOW I come to the last thing in Counsell, which is the wise carriage of it, namely, it must be kept secret, not onely from the enemy, but also from all that are not of the Councell of War. I shewed the discovery of the enemies counsell to be no small advantage; so the secrecy of our own counsell, is the lock and key to good successe. For the discovery of the former, not onely common souldiers, or ordinary Commanders, haue adventured their liues, but even great Generals and Princes themselues, as *Fabius Capi-* brother to *Fabius Maximus*, in an *Hetruscan* habite, discovered their forces and intent. *Saladine*, Sultain of Egypt, hearing of the preparation and expedition of the Christians for the recovery of Ierusalem; himsele in the habite of a private man, went through France, Germany and Spain, and discovering what he could returned to his Kingdom in safety. So *Albertus Brandoline*, in the habit of a Labourer, under the pretence of selling Grapes, entred the Camp of *Francis Sforcia*, Duke of Milan, and discovered his forces. But to clear those attempts in such personages of temerity, will not stand.

For the latter, namely, the keeping of their own counsell secret, it concerneth the greatest and the best. It is the plain position of *Vegetius*; That there is no counsell better than that which is concealed from the enemy before it be put in execution. The same Authour in another place, giveth a reason of the said position: It is the safest (saith he) that all the things we doe in preparations, or expeditions, be hid from the enemy.

knowledge of the enemies. Hence it is (as the same Author and lib. 3. c. 26.
 others report,) that the ancients gaue the *Minotaur* in their Tutissimam
 ensignes, that as he was placed by *Dedalus* in an inaccessible namque in
 labyrinth, so the counsel of war should be wonderfull secret. expeditioni-
bus, &c.

Hereupon One hath made a prettie Embleme, the applica-
 tion whereof is this, unfolding the reason:

Nosque monent debere ducum secreta latere

Confilia: authori cognita techna nocet.

This teacheth Captaines to keepe secrets crosse,

For these reueald turns to the Authors losse.

For keeping of secrecie in war, *Vegetius* hath a marveyllous

good rule; of that which seemeth fit to be done consult with many; Quid fieri
 of that which you intend to doe, indeed, consult with a few, and debet tra-
 that faithfull ones; yea rather with your selfe (meaning the Ge- stato cum
 nerall) so that from the common souldier, or ordinarie Com- multis quid
 manders, the courses intended are to be concealed. vero factu-
rus sit, &c.

There be many notable instances of well concealed coun-
 sell, and the ensuing good in militarie writers; amongst the
 rest, none more common, and yet none more remarkable
 then that of *Q. Metellus Pius* proconsull in the Spanish War,
 against the *Ceriberi* or French-Spanish: as he beleagred *Con-*
trebia the chiefe citie of that precinct; with all his forces he
 could not overcome it. After long deliberation with him-
 selfe what to doe, he withdraweth his forces on a sudden,
 and marcheth a pace to other parts, and encamping some-
 times here, and sometimes there, the cause of his so doing
 was not onely hid from his enemies, who did not regard it;
 but also from his owne souldiers; who wondring at his
 strange courses, one amongst the rest being very inward with
 him, demanded what he meant by these removals, Let alone (saith Valerius
 he) further to inquire, for if my shirt knew what I meant to doe, Max lib 7.
 I would cause it to be burned: thus seeming to direct his course cap. 4.
 another way, he brings his forces before the citie; he giveth Front lib. 1.
 the assault unexpected, wherein they were surpris'd with cap. 1.
 such a sudden feare, that without more ado he tooke it.

Cesar C. Nero attending *Hanibal*, desired exceedingly to prevent *Asdrubal* his brothers forces, from ioyning with him; but how to hold *Hanibal* in hand by concealing the matter from him, there was the cunning. He draweth out of his forces ten thousand of the best, and commandeth his Legates whom he left, to keepe the same station, to make so many fires as they used to doe, to giue the same face, or shew of an intire Campe, and *Hanibal* indeed did take it so to be. In the meane time he ioyneth with *Livius Salinator* his colleague, who was too weake of himselfe to ioyne battle with *Asdrubal*; but the forces being ioyned, and yet concealed from shew (least *Asdrubal* should detract fight) they ioyne battle; *Asdrubal* is defeated, and *Nero* returneth to the Campe ere *Hanibal* knew any thing. So that of two of the wittiest Captaines that euer *Carthage* had, the one was defeated, and the other was deluded, and that by well concealed counsell: for if *Hanibal* had had but the least suspition, they might haue lost their whole forces. One example more in *Iason*, who going to besiege a Towne in *Theffalia*, he caused his souldiers to Arm, and led them out, being ignorant whether to goe, or what to doe. As they were marching, he causeth a message to be brought that the enemy was marching toward them, and that he had spoiled the fields all about: whereat the souldiers being incensed, the Generall leadeth them on to the very walls, which they assaulted so fiercely & unexpectedly, that the Towne was takē (as the Author saith) before cyther the conquered or the conquerour knew. *Antigonus* was so wary in keeping his counsell, that when his son *Phillip* asked him, in the hearing of divers, when he meant to remove the Campe, he gaue him no other answer but this; *Are you afraid* (saith he) *that you shall not hear when the trumpet soundeth*; taxing thereby, partly the unadvisednes of the Prince, who would aske his father such a question in the hearing of others, and partly intimating, that Princes counsell (especially in warre) is to be concealed.

Polyan.
lib. 3.

Celur
Rhodo.
lib. 13. c. 5.

Alexander

Alexander, having suffered *Ephestion* to looke upon a very secret letter, sealed his lips with his ring, inioyning him thereby secrecie. If some of our counsellors hearts had been sealed with fidelitie, & their lips with secrecie, *the soule of Gondomar* had not so easily entered into the cabinat of our secrets, where he lay so long like an old rat, feeding on a *parmisan*; That all the ratsbane in the citie will scarce serue to kill the theevish brood of his up-bringing: these haue eat the heart out of our counsell, the Romish night-crowes were his discoverers, & the leaking she-counsellors conuayed all the waters of our counsell to Holburn conduit; but what remedy for this? In my opinion it were best to cleanse the house of the old Spanish rats, make them pay for what they haue eat, and spoyled, and haue no more to doe with them: ferrit out that corroding brood, with their leaders, clip the wings of the night-crowes, & for the grand-couzeners of State, whose lips are not sealed with the ring, of state-secrecie, it is a pitty but their lips should be seared with a hot Yron, & their foreheads with indignitie.

For the custody of secrecie in counsell their be two Courts of guard, the one an outward Court for the attaching of spies from the enemies winding themselvs into the Camp for the discovery of forces or counsell, or to get the word. The second is an inward Court, with *Argos eyes*, attending the carriage of their owne, that none bewray their counsell to the enemy: against the former, namely, spies from the enemies.

There is a rule in war, that spies in the Campe goe not unpunished. It is the approved use and custome (saith a *Civilian*) though not a writtē law, that spies from the enemies shall loose their heads.

Directions for the discovery of Spies, out of the actions of the greatest warriours are reduced to these three particulars; as to cause euery one to attach his fellow, to giue an accompt what he is, & whence he is, to cause them march through some strait, which the Spies will labour to shun, finally to cause every one to retire to his tent: But varietie of occasions & dexteritie of wit will afford more directions

Two Courts of guard for secrecie. The outward Court of guard for secrecie. *Ne exploratores inter nostros versentur impune. Vegetius lib. 3. cap. 9.* Direction for the discovery of Spies.

Lib. bellorū
punicorum.

A witty
Stratagem

It is requi-
red that a
Generall
be a good
Geogra-
pher.

then rules can contayne. Notwithstanding of all this it is true that your greatest Captaines, haue taken the Spies of the enemies into their Camps, shewed them their forces, munition and order, and sent them away untouched. And this they haue done, eyther to terrifie the enemy, or to keepe correspondency with the Spy in his kind, under a semblance of giving credit to serve their owne ends. An instance of the former, wee haue in *Scipio*, of whom *Appian* reporteth that he caused the apprehended Spies of *Haniball*, which he had sent three severall times into the Romane Camp, to be carried about the Camp, and through the Campe, & shewed them all the Armory, munition, the order of incamping, and the course of their discipline. Which being done, *Preter morem castrensem* (as the Author observeth) not giving them the course of Campe law, he sendeth them safe away, that they might tell their *Generall* what they had scene, and withall extoll *Scipio* his generous disposition. For the latter, wee haue an instance of that witty use that the *Generall Ventidius* in the *Parthian* war, made of King *Pacorus* his Spy, named *Pharneus*, who made shew to *Ventidius* of discovery of the *Parthian* affaires, & intent, but directly intending to discover *Ventidius* to the *Parthians*. The witty *Generall* served him in his owne kind, and made him against his intent, to serve his purpose. And to bring this about, he used this generall, whatsoever he desired that the *Parthians* should doe indeed, he told the Spy that he feared they should doe the same. According to which (being the direct rule) *Pharneus* gaue the *Parthians* intelligence, but being ignorant of the crosse rule by which *Ventidius* walked, he brought them to the pit of destruction, by this trick put upon him. *Ventidius* of all things feared most, that the *Parthians* should passe *Euphrates*, before the Legionary forces that were beyond *Taurus* in *Capadocia* should come and ioyne with his: Wherefore he dealeth earnestly with the Spie; that he would perswade the *Parthians* to crosse *Euphrates* at *Zuma*, where the river was narrowest and

And the cut shortest, where that by the streightnesse of the passage, and advantage of the adiacent hills, he might offend them, and delude the force of their Archers: for his onely feare, as he faigned, was that they should set a compasse, and crosse the river against the plaine fields, where he should never be able to defend himselfe, nor to bid them battel. The Spie taking the Generall, as he spake, & not as he meant (for what he seemed to desire he feared most, and what he seemed to feare, he desired most) perswadeth the Parthians to doe what he seemed to feare. They bring their forces about, and through the many impediments they found, and the great deale a doe in making and ioyning bridges and other engines, they spent 40 dayes ere they could passe the river, by which time *Ventidius*, and his other forces were come together, and set in order three dayes before the enemies approached, to whom they gaue battle, and therein gaue them a fore overthrow.

Front. lib. 1
Cap. 1.

Now to come to the latter, namely, *intestine perfidie*, in the discoveries of counsel; as it is the more dangerous; so it requireth the more watchfulnes, and the narrower search. For it is an euill shut dore, when the thiefe is left in the house. When the King of *Syria* his counsell was discovered to the King of *Israell*, it is said, that his heart for that was fore troubled, and he called his servants and said unto them, will you not shew, which of us is for the King of *Israell*? Where first observe, what a heavy trouble it is to haue a counsell-carrier within; And secondly, by the search it is implied, that if there had beene such an one indeed, what should haue beene his portion if he had beene found out? Shamefull and fearfull was the end of *Robert Recatensis*, a special commander of *Venice*. This man, being much affected by the souldiers, and desirous to be great, he bewrayes their counsell of *Venice* to *Genua*, with whom they were at warre. But his perfidious dealing was discovered by *Carolus Zenus*, another *Camillus*; yea the restorer and conservator of the *Venetian* commonwealth

The inward Court of guard for secrecie,

Egnatius
lib. 7. cap. 4

wealth. He suffered the said *Robert* to enter *Clodia*, but with a watchfull attendant of his owne appointment, by whom his treachery being discovered, he had in Iustice his deserved punishment. It shall then be the part of euery wise warriour to looke well to his counsell, and whom he maketh his counsellours. Counsell concealed can doe no hurt, but once revealed it cannot be called backe againe. I haue read of a man that was in the mouthes of many, and of excellent parts if he could haue used them. He had cunne by heart, the lesson of *Q. Metellus*, and had it often in his mouth, *That if his shirt were privy to his counsell, and could speake, he would burne it.* But like a bad hearer, he said and did not: for had his practice answered his theorick, he might happily, as yet, haue known where to haue found his head, & all the cunning of the projecting Spaniard had not served to picke the Elixir out of it.

It shall not be amisse for Gods people to learne this of their enemies. *Simeon* and *Levi* diggs deeply and closely through the wall, into whose secrets the soule of *Israel* doth not enter. To these secret and deepe diggers, that *Hieroglyph* of counsell, set out by the learned, doth very well agree. They picture *Pluto* with an helmet on his head, and *Proserpina* ravishing. By which they would signifie the subterranean secrecie of counsel, so their deep counsels, are hellish indeed, closely covered, hauing *Pluto* and *Proserpina* for their President. Yea the *Cabala* is kept no closer by the *Iewes*, nor the *Sibills* by the *Romans*, nor the *Druides* verses by the ancient *Gaules*; then they keepe their secrets. It is good to cast a counter-Mine against this counsell, and though you worke not on the like subiect, but rather on the contrarie: yet labour to keepe as close as they doe. When God will giue his people into the hands of their enemies, he either taketh away the spirit of counsell, as he did from *Israel* when they grieved him; or he discovereth it to the enemy, as he did the counsell of the King of *Siria*. Therefore, as I haue shewed

let his people consult with God, and let him be president over all their counsels, against whom there is no counsell; and let them looke likewise to the sealing of their counsell, that their enemies might not reade it. Take heed of the Babylonish Spyes that convey themselves into your Courts, Camps and Chambers, in strange habits, under the colour of travell, traffique, profession of Sciences, or any such like. These be the Hyenaes that lye by the walles, with mens voyces, but wolues hearts, ready to discover every one that looketh out at dores. These be like to that dissembling Romish hypocrite, *Anobarbus*, with a brazen face indeed, and a leaden heart. These are trayned up and taught the Art of discovery, so that all *Cyphers* and *Hyeroglyphs* are familiar to them; but if they be caught, it is good to make them pay for their learning.

But to come neerer home, into the inward society of secrets: Kings and Generals in these daies especially, had need, not with *Osiris* King of Egypt to have an eye onely in the top of the Scepter, or sword; but they must have their eyes in their own heads: yea, in their hearts, *ad discernenda regia pericula opus est oculo animi*. To discover the danger of great ones, they had need of the eye of the minde. As *Achitophel* is without giving counsell against *David*; so *Doeg* is standing before the Lord when *David* asketh counsel of *Achimelech*, whereof *Saul* being by him informed, it costs the Priests their lives. You see this *bel-bound* came to the place of Gods service; as some it may be with us come to the Church to blow up the Church; and made likewise a shew of Gods service, 1 Sam. 21. 7, an *Edomite* by Nation and Condition; yet an *Israelite* by outward profession. This shew without doubt made the Priests not mistrust him, but like a bloudie *Edomite* or *Esaute* he seeks their blood, and hath it. His heart was dyed in blood; for there he conceiveth the murder, his tongue dipped in blood; he maketh the matter worse by relating; his hand bathed in blood; with that he

*Quos fu-
giamus sci-
mus, quibus
credemus
nescimus.
Cic. ad
Atti.
Micah 7.
3. 6. 7.*

Psal. 12.

*Sis prudēs,
memento
diffidere.
Quest.*

Ans.

*Rules of
tryall.*

execureth the malice of his heart. Secrecie (if God had so
so ordained,) might haue saved all this. Such be the can-
ker wormes, and fretting moaths that eat out the heart of
good counsell, ere ever it come to light. Such be the pick-
locks of the Cabinat of counsell. Yea, such and so many
close deceivers now there be of all sorts, that it may be too
truely said, as *Tully* said in another case: *Whom to shun we
know, but whom to beleue we knowe not.* Yea, the book of God
makeh it good of these evill daies; *Trust yee not in a friend,
put no confidence in a guide, &c.* He sheweth a reason, *The son
dishonoureth the father, &c.* In a word, *a mans enemies are the
of his own house.* If *Sampson* be deceived by his own Heifer,
and *Noah* dishonoured by his own son; *Isaak* mocked by his
own brother, and *David* finde no place to rest in for his
own father-in-law, what shall a man say then? Surely, this
is his best refuge; *Help Iehovah, for the gracious Saint is ended,
and the faithfull diminished from the sonnes of Adam:* And
for the present, till the world mend, it shall not be amisse to
follow the counsell of *Epicharmus*; *Be wise, remember to
distrust.*

But since counsell must be used, and some must be trusted
with counsell; here a question may be moved, what should
be done in this?

I answer, doe as *Constantine* did with his servants; first
try, and then trust. Yea, here ariseth another question, how
should they be tryed? To which I answer; First, just as he
tryed his servants, as I shewed in the qualification of a
good Counsellour. For he that consulterh with God, can
both giue counsell, and keep counsell: He that keepeth with
God, will keep with man: but because these are very rare
birds, as I haue shewed you, and one of these is as a Lillie
amongst thorns: For the tryall of meeke civill men, let the
practise of some great Warriours be instead of a rule. They
would first try their fidelity with things of seeming impor-
tance, but in themselves of no moment. *Diomysius* going by
Sea

Sea to besiege a Citie, gaue a sealed commission in shew, to every ship-master, but never a word written in it. Withall he commanded, so soon as ever a signe was given from a ship, thereunto appointed, they should open their Commissions, and make their course whether they should direct them. Withall he ships himselfe presently in one of the best Saylors, and comming about before the sign was given, he demandeth of every man his Commission: those that had opened their Commission against the charge, he executed as Traytors; to the rest who had obeyed, he gaue commission indeed whether to direct their course. By which means he both discovered the perfidious from the faithfull, and by his secrecie concealed, he assaults and takes *Amphipolis*, that neither expected him, nor was provided against him. Again another rule of tryall of trust directeth you to take heed of two sorts. The first is such as their very Religion maintaineth treachery; namely, Papists, professing *that faith is not to be kept with Hereticks upon any relation*. The second sort is such as by their practise haue made shipwreck of their fidelity to any. *He that is once evill is ever so presumed to be in the same kind*, except the Lord renew him by repentance. It is the nature of faith, neither for fear nor flattery, for gain or glory, for hatred or applause of men to deceiue. *Pontius Centurio*, a Captain of *Cesars*, being taken by *Scipio*, *Pompey* his father-in-law, had his life offered him, with an honourable place, if he would serue *Pompey*, who answered *Scipio*, *That he thanked him exceedingly, but of life upon such unequal conditions, he stood in no need*. So he chosed rather to die, then to falsifie his faith to *Cesar*. *Constantine* would trust those Courtiers no more that had cracked their credit with God. *Theoderick* an Arrian King, did exceedingly affect a certain Deacon, although he was an Orthodox: This Deacon, thinking that he should gratifie *Theoderick* much, and attain to advancement, became an Arrian, which when the King understood, he changed his loue into hatred, and cur-

Polyan. li. 5

Qui semel est malus semper presumitur esse malus in eodem genere.

Brusont. li. 2. c. 35.

sed the head to be struck from him; affirming, *that if he kept not his faith to God; what duty in conscience could a man expect from him.* But to conclude this point of keeping counsell, pray to God for wisdom; and for wise and faithfull Counsellours; for it is God that giveth and directeth the counsell of the wise; and also discovereth and confoundeth the counsell of *Achitophel*. To end then with the rule of *Vegetius*; if your counsell be discovered to the enemy; take an other course.

Cum consiliam tuum cognoveris adversarii proditum, dispositionem muta. lib. 3. cap. 23.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The execution of things consulted on.

TH V S having finished my discourse of Counsell, with the conditions thereof, together with other things conducent to the good and guiding of warre, I come now to the execution or managing of things wisely consulted of; or if you will, to discourse of the practick of warr. As in all Arts and Sciences practicall, practice is the proper end; so especially in the Art of War, wherein Counsell and Strength are required. *Counsell to deliberate, and Strength to execute.* There is an inbred sagacity in man, as *Aristotle* saith, to proceed from things more common, to things more particular; which course in this Treatise I keep, applying the unfolded generall rules to their particular objects; not that I take upon me to direct in every particular (for that is both beyond my element, and impossible to the best experienced, by reason of new occasions arising, requiring rather an exception then a rule.) As it is the discretion of the *Physician*, in the cure of this or that particular man, by reason of occurring circumstances, of implicate or opposite diseases,

Innata est nobis via a magis communibus ad minus communia procedere. Primo Physicor.

not to walk by his generall rules; for so he may kill rather then cure: so an excellent rule of war, evill applyed in the particular, is like a *Cataplasme* to a true *Plurisie*, in steed of *Phlebotomie*. But not to insist in Apologie, I intend to follow my ayme; namely, having touched the particulars, to take them along with me to the standard of the Word, whereby they being ordered and directed, they may likewise be blessed from above.

CHAP. XXIX.

The true use of Stratagems.

THE managing of war, according to the nature of war (as you know) is either *Defensive* or *Offensive* (taking the denomination from the chiefeest part) otherwise a pure unmixt war, especially if it be *defensive*, will proue but a poore one. It may likewise be distinguished in regard of place, in *field-fight*, and *oppugnation of holds*. In both which services, before I come to touch the particulars, let this position take place without controversie, *That stratagems are both lawfull and necessary*; neither doe they (being lawfully used) deserue the name of deceit. That they are as usuall as war it selfe, there is no question; Witnesse all that haue written of war. *Vegetius*; *Stuchus*, *Egnatius*, *Polyannus*; and *Frontine* who hath foure whole books of Stratagems. But because the examples of men must rule us no further then they are ruled by the Word, you shall not onely see the examples of Gods people in his warrs, warranted by the Word; but also Gods own expresse direction for Stratagems, for the destruction of Ai; though the Lord had decreed it, yet he giveth order for all necessary secundary means, that might

Ios. 8. 2. *Cum iusta bellum suscipitur utrū apperit pugnet quis an ex insidiis nihil ad iusticiam interest; dominus enim &c.* serve for the overthrow of it. Lay thou an ambushment (saith the Lord) for the Citie behind it. In which words observe it very fitly, When a iust warre is undertaken, whether one overcome by open force, or stratagem, it is all one in the ballance of Iustice; for God (saith he) commanded Iosua to intrap the inhabitants of Ai. The very saying of the Holy then is sound enough in this point, so his termes be well construed;

A Stratagem, or Force, all one to foes,

Quest. 10. *in Iosua.* *Dolus an virtus quis in hosce requirit.* Neither can a Stratagem be properly called by the name of deceit; because deceit presupposeth some trust under parley, league, or kindnesse; so that this being put upon an enemy, is rather, as I may say, *dolus acceptus*, then *dolus datus*; because he should haue looked better to it. The word *Dolus*, that the Poet useth abusively (as *Aquinas* saith) is taken in the better part: wherefore the Ancients when they took it in the worser part, to make a difference, called it *malum malum*, *Homer* likewise taketh it in the better part; commending *Ulysses* for his excellency of wit against his enemies, and that by just proceeding, setteth it down under the very same name. It is said of *Phillip* of Macedo, that he prevailed more this way, then by all his forces.

But as the course is both lawfull and commendable; so you must look to use it lawfully; you must not shift in false deceit and couzenage, under the colour of a true *Stratagem*. There is as much difference betwixt these two, as is betwixt a *Magistrate* using the sword of Iustice, and a man lying in wait to cut his neighbours throat.

In every *Stratageme* there be two things especially to be avoided, *false-deceit*, and *lying*; the former hath relation to any league, or parley, or *interim* of truce, promised or proclaimed. Under these termes, to attempt any thing directly against the enemy; is on the doers part to deceiue. With this foule blemish, *Lucullus* that great Roman Warriour did stain all his honour. He being under termes of peace with the

the Portugals, whose forces lay in severall places; desired them so to remain, and he would shew every company where they should build and seat themselves most conveniently: He commeth to the first company, and under shew of friendship perswadeth them to lay down their Armes; whereupon he causeth his Army to fall upon them, and kill them every man; yea, so quickly was it done, that the last knew not of the murdering of the rest. From this treacherous Massacre a very few with *Viriatius* escaped. One speaking of this, giveth it the proper name; namely, *Perfidie*, and not a *Stratagem*. Likewise in a stratagem, the least lye is to be avoyded. It is true, that the most of your memorable Stratagems, where speeches hath past, have been strewed with untruths: but we must not use in the best presidents, the least evill that is in them. We should follow the Midwives piety in saving the children; *Abrahams* charity in securing of himselfe, *Rahabs* mercy in saving the Spyes; *Jacobs* industry in getting of the blessing, and *Iohn* his zeale and admiration of Gods good power, and of the glory of the Saints: but withall we must not follow *Abraham* his counterfeiting, *Rahabs*, and the Midwives lye; *Jacob* his untruth, nor *Iohn* his doing on the Angell.

I know some will hold it much precisenesse in Stratagems to be effected with speech, not to allow an *officious lye*, since all such Stratagems hath been so effected, and almost it is impossible without such a lye to bring it to passe.

I answer. First, what hath been done *de facto* will not serve; but what may be done, *de jure*, we must examine. Secondly, the Word is so precise both in the generall, and even in the very particular, that it will allow no lye at all. For the generall, this rule is without exception. We must

not doe the least evill, that the greatest good may come of it. Rom. 7. 8. As for the particular, put away lying, saith the Apostle, Lye not one to another. And least men should take these places with a Pharisaeicall glosse; that the Spirit forbiddeth lying

one

*Appian in
hist. bellor.
Hispan. ubi
perfidia et
non strata-
gematis no-
men more
tur.*

Gen. 12. 27

Exod. 1.

Rev. 19.

Rom. 7. 8.

Eps 4. 25.

Lev. 19. 11

one to another, that is, to a brother, or neighbour; but to an enemy we may (especially upon necessity;) the Spirit will haue no lye at all, upon whatsoever good intent, to come from the children of truth. No lye (saith S. Iohn) is of the truth; that is, no lye will sort with the truth; let the ground or pretence seem what it will.

Heathens, that sees no further then Owles, permits lyes upon some necessary; as a certain Poet, he is not to be blamed that maketh a lye for saving his life, Plato affirmeth, that Physicians upon necessitie, must haue leaue to lye, that they may comfort the sick, and hold them up with hopes, although there be none. But neither recovery of health, or saving of life, is a sufficient ground for a lye; because we may not lye for the glory of God, which should be deerer to us then our own salvation. Will you speak wickedly for God; and sake deceitfully for him? Hence it is that the defence of an officious lye falls to the ground. We haue examples indeed, both of pernicious, merry, and officious lyes, but in the book of God, every lye is condemned, and no lye warranted.

Duo mendaciorum genera in quibus non est magna culpa, sed tamen non sine culpa in Psal. 5. Ex si quis peccatum non putet seipsum decipit.

Austin having spoken much of the diuers kinds of lyes, upon good deliberation giveth this resolution: There be two kinds of lyes (saith he) that are lesse faulty, yet are not voide of fault: (for he who thinks any kind of lye not to be sin, deceiveth himselfe:) Neither is there any reason we should use this lie, if we consider it well. First, by this we cannot effect any thing; for it is not a lye that can saue life, nor gain advantage of the enemy. Secondly, we dishonour God exceedingly, and shew our distrust in the using of evil means: Thirdly, and lastly, we provoke God to curse his own work, for mixing that with it, which is an abomination in his sight. We must not then imitate Sopyrus mangling of himselfe, and lay it upon others, though it be to gain dominion to Domitianus, glory and grace to himselfe, and the good of his Countrey. Neither must Synons cogging craft be a warrant to doe so, though it were to gain Troy: Neither must we emu-

late, or imitate the new *Synons* of Rome; the croaking
frogges, and other Papists, who are become their crafts-
 masters in shamelesse lying, and *hellish equivocation*. They
 are apt schollers in *Lysanders* schoole; tell them to their
 shame, as some did to him, *That by divellish lyes, they haue*
brought many massacres, treasons, and outrages to passe. They
 laugh it off, and answer with their Master, *That a man must*
put on the Fox skin, when the Lyons will not serue: that is (as
Plutarch expounds it) that which cannot be done by fair deal-
 ing, must by fraud and dishonest meanes be accomplished. But
 they need not goe so farre to schoole, their hollow fathers,
 fogged up with deceit, will teach them to cast the keyes in
Tyber, and the Sacrament in the fire, when plain dealing
 will not serue. Yea, old *Leo* the tenth, hath taught the yong
Whelps a Text, which all of them hath by heart, and all
 the comments upon it:

Fetch help from hell, if heaven deny you aid.

*Flectere si
 nequeo su-
 peros, &c.*

Neither, last of all, must we follow a multitude to doe
 evill: The whole world lyeth in wickednesse, and truth and
 faith haue left the world. Men are now grown naturall Cre-
 tians. It is a great peece of policy with great Ones, to lye
 as ordinarily as to speak; but it is a great shame and disgrace
 to them. *Excellent speech becommeth not a foole, much lesse doe* Prov. 17. 17.
lying lips a Prince. For this quality in great Ones I cannot
 passe a remarkable passage in the Scottish History. Yong
Malcom King of Scots, fled into England from the cruel-
 ty of *Macbeth*, who had murdered his father, and usurped
 the Kingdom; *Macduff* Earle of Fife escaped likewise from
 the Tyrant, and comming into England to the King, did
 sollicite and incite him with arguments, to labour for the
 deliverance of his people from the tyrannie of a Traytor:
Malcom fearing deceit, which *Macbeth* by sundry means against
 him attempted, he desired to be excused, because he had
 two evill qualities incompatible to Kingly government,
 namely, *avarice* and *lust*. *Macduff* answered, that these
 might

Hist. rer.
Scoti. lib. 7.

1 Sam. 21.

2.

2 Sam. 22.

22.

Nullus mo-
dus menti-
endi &
summa mē-
tiendi im-
punitas.
Alex. lib. 6
cap. 10.

might be remedied by matrimony, and abundance: The King replied that he would be plain with him as a friend, lest afterward he might be deceived; that hee had another fault intollerable in any man, much lesse in a King; There was no truth in his words, no sincerity in his heart; he trusted no body, neither was hee trusted by any. At which Maed brake forth in these speeches: *Away with thee* (saith he) *the dishonour of the name of Kings, a monster rather to be abandoned society, then to be called to rule a Kingdom:* With which speeches, going away in a great rage, the King got him by the hand and told him; hee put the case but to try him, for he was no such man indeed: yea, there was not a more religious, faithfull, iust and magnanimious King amongst them all, then he was. *Dauids lie to Achimelech* did more hurt then if twenty others had lyed; he said, the King had commanded him some secret businesse; which was not so indeed: And though he coyned upon neer necessity, yet cannot he be excused of infirmity, although he made no trade of it. This lye cost the Priests their liues, as he ingenuously confessed, *I haue occasioned the death of all the persons of thy fathers house.* Besides; this fault in great Ones, as Kings, Generals, and Councillours, makes inferiours of all sorts, to count lying a grace. The Courteours of *Meroe*, a Kingdom of India counted themselues highly graced with limping and halting, because the King halted. *Exemplary sin in great Ones, maketh sin common;* and vice once common is counted no vice, but vertue: though a *lyar* (as the Poet saith) is to be hated to death. Yet for all this, that hell is so hugely enlarged upon earth, that we are become like the *Egyptians*, who had no punishment for lying, nor no measure in lying. Two sinnes of all other, the Persians most abhorred, lying and breaking; & these two of all others, bear now no little sway. Yet it were our best to break off this sin. For though we may lye by authority, and no man can call us to account; yet God will call us to an account for every idle word, much more for every

every lye: And though there be no penalty on earth; yet the Iudge of heaven and earth hath appointed hell hereafter for lyers, if they leaue not of and repent. *Without shall be dogs* Rev. 22. 15 (saith the Lord) *and whosoever loveth and maketh a lye.*

But some may reply, what would you haue a Spy to doe; how shall he accomplish his businesse, except he deliver some untruths? To which I answer, as his calling is lawfull, so he must use it lawfully, whatsoever he doth he must not sin; God putteth sin as a necessity upon no man; he may conceale the truth, or some part of the truth, change his habite, make shew of what he meaneth not to doe: In all which he must take heed that they be not in matter of Religion; for that will endure no part of dissimulation. But some may instance that stratagem of *Hushai* in subverting the counsell of *Achishophel*, wherein it seemeth he delivereth sundry untruthes, and that against his knowledge; as first he saluteth *Absolom* by the name of *King*, and that he would be his, and serue him. *1 Sam. 16. 16.* *Osiander* answereth that it was an officious lye; but *Iunius* better, *That he dallied with Absolom in a doubtfull speech.* *Peter Martyr* pleadeth for warrant, *Divine instinct*, because *David* so directed him, *ch. 15. v. 34.* But howsoever, if there were either untruth, or equivocation in it, it is no warrant for us, *Verf. 18. Fuit officiosum mē; daciū. Ambiguo sermone ludificatur,*

CHAP. XXX.

The Oppugnation of an Hold.

NOW I come more particularly to the oppugning and defending of an Hold, wherein I mean to be brieft, because the particulars of the service, dependeth much upon the circumstances of the subject. First, then to the Assaylants; There be two kinds of waies, as Writers well obserue,

*Obsidendi
duas esse
species. Veg.
lib. 4. cap. 7.*

*Fame po-
tius quam
ferro.*

*Cum negli-
gentia in-
terdignit,
paribus in-
sidiis sub-
iacent obsi-
dentes.
Vaget. lib. 4
cap. 28.*

and experience reach, to besiege any place; either by continued assault, or by cutting off all supply of means, whereby they may be forced to yeeld. The latter of these is first to be attempted, because *it is better by famine, then by sword to overcome*; as *Cesar* well observed. The Assaylants having chosen the best advantage of ground, for entrenching of themselves, and planting of their Ordinance, they are in the first place to look well to themselves: for if neglect or carelessness overtake them (as one well observeth) they are subject to as great danger as the besieged. *Claudian* the Poet, both expresseth the danger and directeth the remedy:

----- *multis damnosa fuere
gaudia, dispersi pereunt somnoque soluti.*

----- *Too many often joy*

Secure doth hurt, whom lazie sleep doth slay.

Lidi lib. 33.

The *Apollinates* whom *Phillip* besieged, served him such a trick; in the night time, through the besiegers neglect, they took in the Roman supply (their enemies not knowing:) All the day following they kept themselves very quiet, giving occasion to the Assaylant of security: but in the silence of the night, they sallied forth without any noyse, and possessed themselves of the enemies Camp, where they slew some thousands, and took more then they flew; the King himselfe without his cloaths very hardly escaped. *Frontine* gave the same caution upon the same ground: For whether the Assaylant (saith he) be taken with sleep, or surfet, or idleness, or with any neglect of their place, the besieged on a suddain salliyeth out, they take, kill, consume and spoile with fire; they "undo all their works, take their munition. In a word, they "marr all in an houre, that the enemy hath been making, "and devising many daies, moneths; yea, it may be years. "Therefore (saith he) they must look to guard themselves "with all manner of defence and vigilancy, as trenches, "towers, or sconses, against eruptions, as well as with "means to assault. For men being blocked up, where they must

Lib. 4. c. 28

" must either fight, starue, or yeeld, it may be to a cruell
 " and faithlesse enemy ; they make a vertue of necessity, the
 " pinch putteth them to their wit, and despaire strength-
 " neth their resolution, upon the wings whereof they are *Felices sa-*
 " carried to desperate attempts, wherein they proue *often pe sine rati-*
happy beyond all reason. *one.*

Hereupon as the Assaylant must secure himselfe; so in the
 next place he must keep the besieged doing. To direct the
 Assaylant against the besieged, these fiue things are requisite; *Fiue things*
 he must be *wise, cunning, dilligent, constant,* and upon occasi- *necessary*
 on, *wisely adventurous.* By the first he is taught not to per- *for the op-*
 sist against that which must needs cost him more then it is *pugnant.*
 worth.

The second includeth all lawfull stratagemis, whereby
 every wise Assaylant should labor to possesse himselfe of any
 place, rather then by main force; because so, on both sides,
 bloudshed may be prevented. It is not possible, as I shewed,
 to giue rules for all stratagemis, because of new occasions;
 yet for taking in of places these be most usuall. Sometimes *The Stra-*
 the Assaylant corrupteth some of the besieged, who be- *tagem of*
 trayeth the Town or Citie into the hand of the Assaylant, *corrupting*
 and so it is taken with little or nothing a doe: So *Papyrius*
Cursor, the Consul dealt with *Milo*, who kept *Tarentum* a
 Town of the *Epyrots*. Being taken with the great promises
 of the Generall, both of reward and safety to him and his;
 he perswadeth the Town to send him as a Legate to *Papy-*
rius, of whom he received the reward promised, return-
 eth to the Town, and by fair speeches casteth the people in
 a deep security, and so delivereth up the neglected Town
 into the hand of the enemy. So *Marcellus* used *Sosistratus*
 a *Syracusan*, for betraying of the Citie: On a day when *Epi-*
cides did feast the people, he gaue intelligence to *Marcellus*,
 who (while the secure inhabitants did revell it out in pro-
 fuse hilarities) scaleth the walls, killeth the watch, entreth
 the Town, which was a glorious victory, and a great booty

to the Romanes. So *Hanibal* took *Tarentum* by a corrupted Citizen, who was taught by *Hanibal* to aske leaue of the Captain to goe out in the night a hunting, which they durst not doe by day. *Hanibal* had good store of Boores killed ready for him, with which he often returned laden into the Citie, wherof he gaue a share to the Captain: But one night *Hanibal* put his souldiers in the habit of Hunters, who being laden with prey, and let in at the gates, they killed the watch suspecting nothing, set ope the gates and let *Hanibal* in, who killed all the Romanes saue them that fled into the Castle. Examples of this kind are so frequent, that I will not trouble you with more.

Some to effect this, haue sent the trustiest of their own, to proffer their service to the enemies, who under complaint of a fayned injury (or at most feignedly offred) maketh the enemy to belecue, that they will doe or suffer any thing for revenge, when they intend nothing but deceit. This kind likewise hath had good successe, witnesse *Sopyrus* whom *Cyrus* so much esteemed) who by a mangling of himselfe, and fleeing to the enemy, by some fayned service, got *Babylon* into his hand, and delivered it unto *Cyrus*. When *Tarquin the proud*, could by no meanes preuaile with the *Gabians* to surrender, he taketh rodde and beateh his own son *Tarquinus Sextus*, and sendeth him to the enemy, to whom he accusing his fathers cruelty, desireth in shew of revenge to be their Captain against his father, to whom when they came to fight, he delivered them up.

Ob.

But here ariseth a case of conscience, since one man to betray the rest is paricide, or the highest kind of murther, how can the perswader be free of the sin, since a perswader *ab ante* or before is the chiefeest principall?

Ans.

Inst.

Ans.

Hostes sal
lere & iustū
& honestū.

I answer he may very lawfully perswade them all to surrender, Ergo he may lawfully perswade one to doe what he can. Yea but the means used be naught. I answer, on the perswaders part they are good, who may as lawfully by cunning as by

by force overcome. Neyther can it be called treason in him because he is not in trust. Againe the enimie is become his friend, though he be an enimie to his owne. If it be lawfull for a man in authoritie, to cause one thiefe, or traytor, to betray an other being all enemies to the state; it is no lesse lawfull for a commander in this kind to divide his enemies one from another, & to make one serve his turne against another. But in this, and passages of the like nature, I refer my selfe to the iudicious divines.

*Si amicus
fuisse nun-
quam pro-
didisset.*

Another stratagem of use is to fayne remisnes, or neglect of assaulting, or to doe some other thing then the main thing they intend. *Alcibiades* Generall of *Athens* besieging the citie *Agrigentina*, which was almost impregnable: He desireth the citie to send some of their counsell to him, with whom he might consult of matters concerning the common good. He causeth a *Theater* to be erected, and in great pomp, according to the *Grecian* manner, he holdeth the eyes of the besieged with a shew of consultaion; who neglecting to stand upon their guard, were surprized by the *Athenians* before they were aware. *Domicius Calvinus* besieging *Leucas*, a Towne both well fortified, and well manned; tooke often this course, to compasse the wals, with all his forces without the least shew of attempt, & so to lead them back againe into the campe. The Towne being induced by this accustomed course, to beleieve that the Roman did it onely for use of exercise, began to slight it as a toy and to grow remisse in their attendance; He turnes his obambulation into a sudden and unlooked for assault, and taking the walls he forced them to render the Towne and themselves. Neyther doth the like action of *Iosua*, in compassing the walls of *Iericho*, want the nature of a stratagem. For though the Lord had give it into his hand; yet he neglecteth no secondary meanes, eyther of force, or cunning to accomplish the Lords decree. And no doubt the continued compassing of the citie, without any further attempt; made *Iericho* slight it off, as a toy, rather

*Feying of
remisnes,*

„ rather then a stratagem. As the custome of things doe dull
 „ and alter the sense; so it binderh up the mind from judg-
 „ ing, and disordereth the affections from fearing, or affec-
 „ ting of things indeed according to the true nature.

Besides; this generall hath likewise another tricke of slight
 to simulate the rayfing of the siege, and departure for a time,
 that the besieged, neglecting their watch, they may returne
 upon them, and take them at unawares. This did *Phormio*, of
Athens, against the *Chalsidians*; *Agiselaus*, of *Lacedemon*, against
 the *Phocenses*; *Alcibiades* against the *Bizantines*, and *Q. Me-
 tellus*, as you heard, against *Cantabria*.

The last that here I relate, for all I cannot (and with many
 I will not cloy) is the drawing of the besieged to fallie out,
 with laying ambushment to take the place. Of many exam-
 ples, I will giue but a tast. Of this stratagem God himselfe
 was the author to *Iosua*, as I shewed you, *Iosu. 8.* *Cato* in the
 very eye of the *Lacedemonians*, whom he besieged, set the
Suessens, being the weakest of his forces to assault the Walls,
 and layeth the strongest in ambush for the service indeed; the
 Towne breaking out upon the assailants (who fled for their
 lives, and they followed as eagerly;) the towne was taken by
 them that lay in ambush. *Hannibal*, besieging *Hymera*
 caused not onely his souldiers to flee before those that sal-
 lied out; but also to quit the Campe into the enemies hand,
 for which the *Hymerans* were so ravished with Ioy, that they
 runne all out of the Towne unto the Campe; and so the
 Towne was taken by those that laie in waite. The like stra-
 tagem he used against *Sagunt*.

Diligence:

της επιμε-
 λειας
 παντα
 δελα
 γυνται.

The third thing required in the assailant is diligence in fol-
 lowing the worke, loosing no opportunitie, nor omitting any
 occasion of diligence. It may well be said, that all things are
 subiect to the service of it; yea nothing is so hard but it will
 overcome; without this, nothing with honor can be atchieved,
 and by this, many times, things seeming impossible are ac-
 complished. It is wel observed by *Demosthenes* of *Alexander*,
 that

that his happines did not attend his fortune; neyther by it did he attaine to so great victories: but his industrious diligence, his boldnes and serving of the occasion, brought those great things to passe. Neyther will this service suffer any delay or slipping of occasion: for *occasion* (as one saith well) is the soule of action. The Israelits did compassse *Iericho* for six dayes together; and when they came to the point of the service, they did compassse it twice. It is reported of *Cesar*, that being asked how he had accomplished so great *μνησεν* and admirable things, that he should answer, by *delaying* *αναβαλ-* no occasion. The dexterous and cunning *Hanibal*, neglecting *λα μενωσ.* his attendance upon this great commandresse, lost the Crowne of his victorie, namely, the taking of *Rome*.

Fourthly, for the taking in of a place of any worth there *Cōstancie* is required *Constancie*. It is not common, to come and see, and so *Venire videre & sic* to overcome. The place is very weake, or pestered with *Co-* wards, or traytors, that yeelds at the first, therefore the assai- *vincere.* lant must resolve to stay by it, yea and to be at some cost with it, if he meane to haue it. They that come to besiege any places (as *Livy* well observeth) must ever haue that of *Ap-* *Preserveran-* *tia in omni* *piannus Claudius* before their eyes. That perseverance in every *genere mili-* part of war is very necessarie, but especiallie in the besieging of *tie est ne-* *cessaria,* *townes*. *Titus* besieged *Hierusalem* six moneths; the siege *maxime ta-* of *Troy* continued ten yeares. In the time of *Leo Iconoma-* *men in ob-* *sidendis nr-* *bibus.* *chus*, *Calp' Sullman* besieged *Constantinople* for the space *Apud Liv.* of eight yeares. *Anno Domini* 719. So the siege of *lib. 5.* *Constantinople*, and the *Rhodes*, when they were taken, continued for many dayes. But how short while soever it be continued, it shalbe good policie to make shew of continuance, *Clearchus* the Lacedemonian environing the *Thracians*, they were confident, that want of provision, would force him to depart (for they had carryed all into the mountaines.) As they sent their legates to him, he caused a captive to be cut in peces. & in the presence of the Legates to be distributed, as though it had beene for victualls, which the *Thracians* taking

as an evidence, that he and his would endure any thing rather then breake their resolution, they rendred themselves into his hands. When the *Portugalls* told *Tiberius Grachus*, that they had provision enough for ten yeares, and therefore they did not feare blocking up, well (saide he) *the worst is, then I shall take you in the eleventh yeare*: with which resolution they were so daunted that they rendred themselves, notwithstanding of their provision.

The cost
of oppug-
nation.

The last, but not the least, thing to be thought on, is the cost which they must be at. Stratagems, nor wearying out, may be, will not serve the turne; they may find the besieged as resolute to hold out, as themselves to continue; as cunning to prevent, or to retort a Stratagem, as they are to devise it. They must therefore come to handy blowes, besides plying of ordinance. Neyther must the assailant be daunted with the valour, or resolution of the defendant; but it must be the rather whet him on to his attempt. First, considering what an adversarie he hath: the valour of the adversarie addeth spirit to the valiant. *Cesar Domitian*, knowing that the *Germans* against whom the *French* were to fight, would add strength to strength, courage to courage, if they should know of his being in the bartell, came closely with his forces under the colours of the *French*, and so overthrew them.

Secondly, the worth of the adversarie, addeth to the glory of the victory, & to the gaine of him that overcometh him. *Aulus Torquatus* oppugning a Towne of *Greece* was told, by one of his army, that the yong men within the citie were excellent Archers, & that it would be hard to expugne them all the better (saith the Generall) for I shall have the richer prey. When *Aristotle* his *Elenchus* will doe no good with the besieged, he must bring *Achileum argumentum*, an irresistable argument, they must be in their assault (as *Homer* saith) like the boores; who run upō them that provoke thē, nor shunning the launce. Yea, the assault must be given with that resolution, eyther to dye, as one (saith well) where there is onely place for bold ad-
vance.

αὐτοῦ ποί-
σι οὐδὲν
οὐδὲν αἰσχρο-
τάτος.
Aut per-
dant aut
periculis.

ture; and of all the services of warre this requireth it most : Yet this adventure must be with good advice; as men must not be *timorous*, so they must not be *temerous*. It is a part of magnanimity to dare, but to be desperate without ground, is no part of manhood. εὐπλοος
οὐ τιμω-
ρος.

In making of assault there be three cautions. First, if by blocking up, and cutting off meanes, the place may be taken, it is vain to make a desperate attempt upon it : and therefore I thinke the Duke of *Alva* his will was aboue his wit; and that it was rather cholor, then true courage in him, at the siege of *Harlem*, to spend so many men, to the number of 20000, where he might in time haue famished them out, as some of his own requested him to doe. Secondly, to attempt, continue, & re-inforce assaults, where no good can be done, standeth neither with the wit, nor credit of a Commander. It was well observed by *Chilo*, that things are not to be attempted that cannot possibly be done, and that being effected, the evill overgoeth the good. The great Turke, that cruell beast, continued and re-inforced his assault upon the *Rhodes* so long, with the losse of so many, that the souldiers refused absolutely, notwithstanding of his threatnings, to renew the assault. It is a good saying, and experience proveth it true, that expence of danger, reclaimeth a man from fool-hardinesse. This was verified in *Spinola* at the siege of *Bergan-upzome*, where he came short of himselfe in two things; first in losing his opportunity; and secondly, when they were too good for him, he made such desperate and hote assaults, and was so prodigall of the bloud of his souldiers, that every one might know, it was none of his own : but the cost of his rash attempts made his courage to coole, till at last he left of a little wiser then when he began.

The last caution concerneth the person of the Generall, that in the siege or assault, he be reserved from the point of danger. *Abimelech* comming close to the Town of *Thebes*, which they were besieging, was killed with a peece of a Mil-
Reservati-
on of the
Generall
from dan-
ger.

stone out of a womans hand. *Alexander* the Great was more adventurous this way, then it became so great a King to be: For he indangered himselfe in taking the Towne of *Iupiter Haman*, where entering first by himselfe, and put to his own defence against many, was very sore wounded before any help could come at him. *Charles* Duke of *Burbon*, at the taking of *Rome* was so eager in entering the breach, that upon the wall he was slain with a bullet. *D. de Maine*, at the siege of *Montabon*, viewing of his works, and comming too nigh the walls, was likewise shot with a Musket. The reason hereof is this, that when the Generall is lost, the businesse is often quashed, *Abimelech* being slain at the Towne of *Thebes*, they proceeded no further, but every man went into his own place. And thus much for the Assaylant.

CHAP. XXXI.

The carriage of the Besieged.

NOW I come to the Defendant besieged, who as their case is the worser, so they had need of the ready-wit, both how to hold out, and how upon necessity of surrender, to make the best condition they can for themselves. As contraries laid together, discover one anothers nature, so out of the directions of the Assaylant, the Defendant may pick matter of instruction. Things required in the besieged, may be reduced to these generall heads, *Providence, Vigilancy, Cunning, Fidelity, strict censure of Traitors, Warinesse, and Continuance*. By the first of these they are directed to get all within themselves that they can, and to consume the rest, that it may not serue the enemy. To this head

Seven things necessary for the besieged.

head belongeth the making good of every place by water or by land, that may serue them for fallying forth, or bringing in of necessaries, and for annoying the enemy. To the second head may be referred the managing of all things and actions, that make for holding out. As nothing doth more incommode the Assaylant, then secure negligence, so to the Defendant it is much more obnoxious, because in a repulse there is place for a second error, so is there not, if the place be taken. Presumptuous security was the ruin of Laish. *Dan* (saith the Word) *came to Laish, Iudg. 18. 27* a people that were quiet and secure, and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and burnt the Citie with fire. A constant care must not be intermitted; watch must not be neglected. When *Alcibiades*, Generall of Athens, would haue his soldiers to keep strict watch in a Citie besieged, he commanded the Watch to obserue a light that he would shew them from a Castle, at the sight wherof, they should all hold up their lights, and whosoever should faile in that should dye for it. While every man expected a signe from the Generall, all kept constant watch, to the safeguard of the place. This diligent and watchfull care, should be alwaies as a Watch upon the Walls, which the learned termeth well, *the Shield* *ἐπίμεινα* *of the Citie.* The neglect wherof, in regard of the danger, *περὶ πολέως* hath been severely punished in particular delinquents. *Iphicrates* of Athens, keeping *Corinth* when it was besieged, went about the Watch himselfe, even when the enemy was about to make an assault; and finding one of the Watch asleep, he thrusteth him through with his sword; and to those that taxed him of severity, he answered thus, *that he left him such as he found him.* The like is reported of *Epaminondas* the Thebane: To omit the example of diligence, used in the defence of the Rhodes, Constantinople, Belgrad, and such places of former times, look but upon the diligence used by the Defendants in the siege of Harlem; where, to fortifie the Town against the whole force of the Spaniards,

ard, 200 women wrought as pyoners, and that under the ensign of a *woman Captaine*, called *Margaret Knenaule*, in one moneth they made the Town three times stronger then it was, making Sconces towards the mouth of the water, to assure safe passages for their necessities. Such was the diligence of Leyden, Bergan-upzome, Montabon, and others.

*Applica-
tion.*

The neglect hereof, and want of mature providence, was a means, amongst the rest, to lay the Palatinate in the mouth of the enemy: and indeed it is to be feared, that the same faylings in us, together with our sinnes, may make way for the tribe of *Dan* to smite us, as *Laish* was smitten. Security is one of the nationall sins of Brittain, and so much the more dangerous, because it vayleth it selfe, and all other sinnes; *from being taken notice of*; yea, it is the *stalking Horse* to sin and judgement: It is the mother of Negligence, and the Devils dore-keeper. As there was never greater security; so was there never a time wherein it was more dangerous. That speech of the Father may be fitly applyed to us;

Nemo securus esse debet in civitate, quia tota tentatio est.
A g lib. 1.
Confess

No man should be secure in that state which is assaulted continually by the enemy; yea, indeed it may be called all *one assault*; their case may be ours, except we repent. For (as the same Father saith) we become rather worser of better, then better of worser. The devil now hath set all his *Miners* a work, that *Antiochus* of *Rome*; and *Senacherib* his Generall, means to block up *Zion* to the very gates. The Foxes are not onely got upon the walls, but the Spyes are got within the Cities; and howsoever we are too credulous to take their word with *Iacobs* sonns, *that they are not Spyes*; yet when the Assault is given they will proue such. It is time therefore that every one that is zealous of Gods glory, carefull of his life, and the life of his, and true to his Country, awake himselfe and others as much as he can, to make up the breach, before the enemy enter.

But to proceed. It is a main point of diligence to make sure at every point. That rule of *Gregory* is true in all kinds of

of defence, that in vaine doe wee fortifie all the rest, if we leaue *In cassum munita sunt cetera, cum locus unus, de quo hosti patet aditus non est munitus.* one place unfortified by which the enemy may enter. A dangerous thing it is if there be the least breach in the wall, or the wicket of a gate be but open: but if the surest-seeming part of the wall, be but daubed up with *untempered mortar*, or if the citie gates be left open by night, though the keyes for a fashion be carryed up, is that citie sure thinke you? Iudge by your owne private house, and it will tell you the danger. *Morall.*

A third point of diligence is to be used in sallying out upon the enemy: so *Furius* the Roman consul brake out by the gate called *Decumana*, and did the assailant great hurt: So *Cesar* in the French-war telleth us, how he served the enemy; slighting us (saith he) they fell to their worke, some to cut trenches, some to fill up ditches: *Cesar* in the meane time sallyeth out at all the gates & put the enemy to flight. The like did *Labienus* & *Hircius* upon *Pompey*. *Harlem* made many brave sallies upon *Duke Alvaes* forces, and not onely killed many, with small losse to themselves, but also carryed divers ensignes out of their trenches, nayling some peeces of their batterie. Without further example, it is an usuall thing. A meere *Lyon couchant*, or a *Serpent dormant*, though they haue both courage and wit; yet (not imploing it to offence) are not fit to keepe a hold. *Sic nostros contempserunt lib. 5.*

The third thing required is cunning: for the art and cunning of the assailant must be opposed and cut off with the like. Stratagems in defence are of exceeding great use, neither is it sin by those to deceive a deceiver: for this is but to take him in his owne net. As there be many examples of this kind, well known to men of reading and experience; so I will shew you but two or three examples for instance. In the besieging of *Rhodes*, the enemy made an *Ambulatorie* or walking-Tower, an engine then of great use, not unlike (it may be, though of greater quantitie) to the moving *wooden sponges* used at the siege of *Harlem*. This over-topt all the Towers of the citie; to cut off the use hereof, the engineers caused

caused to digg through the walls, and in the night to make the way hollow, by the which they did convey it, which the enemy not perceiving (being covered with earth) as it came that way, it sunke downe with the owne waight; so they lost their engine and all their labour, and the citie was delivered. There were many prettie Stratagems used in the defence of *Harlam*, amongst the rest, this one put *Duk de Alva* from working any more that way. The defendant preceiving that the enemy meant to lodge in a new battered bulwarke, they left rampering against it, and fell to the mining of their owne bulwarke, wherein they put barrells of powder casting many trenches round about it, the enemy offering to enter they quit the bulwarke; As a multitude of the enemy pursued and were come to Push of Pike, at the barrier of a trench they fired the mine, blew up, kild, and tooke to the number of 1600, and sallying backe to their owne trenches, recovered the ground of their bulwark, which againe they re-intrenched and kept. One more of excellent note, related by *Vitruvius* in the siege of *Apollonia*. *Trypho Alexandrinus* did mine through the wall in sundry places, till he brought his mines a flights shot without the gate, in all which he hung up vessells of brasse; so sone as ever the enemy began to mine towards the citie, by the sound of the vessells they understood where he wrought; whereupon they countermined the enemy, by penetrating their owne, and powred vessells of hot boyling water, urin, boyled sand, and such like upon the heads of their enemies, whereby they plagued them. Not unlike to this was the practize of a carpenter at the besieging of *Berca* by the Persians, who carrying a brasen shield about within the walls, and laying it to the ground, by the sound of the same discovered the working of the enemy. In our time it is usuall to set basins full of beanes or peason upon the ground, which rebounding at the strokes of the miners, discovereth the enemies workes.

lib. 10. cap.
ult.

Herodot in
Melpemo-
ne.

There

There were never more Miners or Engineers under Zions walls then now there be. *Pharao* hath said to the *Egyptians*, come let us worke wisely with them; that is, craftilie; for so the word signifieth. It is not unworthy our observation; when that *Typicall Pharao* began this undermining of *Israel*; even then when they began to corrupt their religion, & to commit whoredomes with the Idols of *Egypt*. That this is true, looke in *Ezech*, and sundry other places of Gods booke; the Lord sheweth what direction he gaue them, namely to cast away the *Egyptian* Idolls, wherewith they were defiled: but they rebelled against me (saith the Lord) they did not every man cast away the abhommation of his eyes, neyther did they forsake the Idolls of *Egypt*; then I said I will powre out my fury upon them to accomplish mine anger against them, in the middest of the land of *Egypt*. Then (saith the Psalmist) he turned the hearts of the *Egyptians* to hate his people, to deale craftilie with his servants. You see when his peoples sinnes provoke God, the enemies wit beginneth to worke against them, being guided therero by the overuling hand of God: So standeth the case betweene us and *Pharao* his Antitype. Wee haue hugged the gods of *Rome* so long, and kept in the strange fire of their sacrifice so carefullie; that we are become, as some call us, a Nation of devils, for reasons and conspiracies: by this meanes many are infected, others growne lukewarme, the most part key cold, for which the Lord hath increased the hatred of forreyne, and of our homebred *Egyptians* against us, & sharpeneth their wit, that they may deale craftily with us; not that God is the author of the evill of sin, but of the action as it is a just plague and punishment to us. With their craft they haue undermined our wit, they haue undermined our State; and which is worst of all, the haue undermined, yea and almost blown en up the power of our religion; they haue made *Israel* naked, and *Iuda* contemptible and bare: Wee stand in neede then, that wit should awake, and some Trypho should discover their undermining (for wee see but a litle:) But

Eze. 20. 7.

8 23. 8.

1 s 24. 14.

Ps. 105, 25.

vessels of brasse, or tinckling cymbals will not serue, but some silver Trumpet must giue Israel the alarum, and awake them out of sleep, that they may hast to the breach. We had more then need of some cunning *Archimedes* to countermine the Romans, for keeping of our *Syracusa*.

Anti-cunning.

It is likewise a part of cunning to meet with the enemy in his own cunning, in feigning a regresse, or rayfing of the siege, for that (as I shewed) is a speciall Stratagem in opugnation to withdraw themselves, that the besieged may be secure, and they may return with the greater advantage. It shall be their care therefore to make use of that time as occasion shall be afforded.

Application.
*Nisi se subtrahunt
ut ex inspe-
rato nos op-
primant.*

Our enemies seeme to withdraw themselves from the work about which they are, as though they had given it over. Vpon the Parliaments proceeding, some seems to turn, that they may overturn us; the frogs keeps a croaking at the proclamation; the nymphs of Babel seems to mourne that their ghostly fathers must be gone; and great *Diana* droups right down, as though *Iupiter* were in an *evill aspect*. In a word, all the *Edomites* take on, as though both *Spain* and *Babel* were fallen: yea, and the *Spanyard* himselfe takes on, as if *Gondomars* works were all blown up. But for all this they haue not said in their heart, *there is no hope*. Their night counsels, their continuall intercourse with the Pope and *Spanyard*; their Scout-watches every where; their threatnings, out of their abrupt passions, doth plainly tell us that they meane yet to haue a round bout. Their seeming retraits are trecheries; the Iesuit can goe out at the fore-dore, and come in at the back-dore: yea, under *Giges* ring he can goe where he list. Therefore right Honourable, and most worthy of the Parliament, look nighly to them now especially; lest their re-attempts upon us, with greater force and counsell, cause us one day say of our deceived selues; *The foole beleeveth every thing*.

Fidelity.

The fourth thing following, namely *fidelity*; which

it is the bond of all other societies; so it is *the Man, the muniment, and munition*, in maintaining of an Hold: without this, neither valour, wit, nor fortification will serue. What was the speciall maintenance of many places mentioned in this Treatise, as *Constantinople, Rhodes, Vienna*, but fidelity? And what hath betrayed many impregnable places into the hand of the enemy, but infidelity. The instances of later times, and of our own memory, are freshest and of fittest use. When *Solyman* the great Turke besieged *Buda*, *Thomas Madaſtus*, a braue Captain, possessing the Castle, defended it valiantly; and, without doubt, had kept it, with great dishonour and disadvantage to the Turke, if his souldiers had not betrayed him into the hands of the enemy. For they took him (denying to render the Castle) and delivered both him and it to *Solyman*, upon condition, that with bag and baggage they might safely depart. So the Isle of *Rhodes* was betrayed by a *Varlet* to the Turke, on condition that he should haue the Turkes daughter to wife, with a great portion. Lastly, *Deuenter* was betrayed into the hand of the Spanyard, by *Sir William Stanley*, the staine of his Nation, though treason be the common badge of his black profession.

But if you will haue instances of fidelity; let me giue you one of note for all the rest. *William Seton*, Captain of *Barwick*, having maintained the Town, against *Edward* the first, for the space of three moneths; and besides the hot assauls made continually at all quarters, hee was driven to great want; the Town being blockt up, & not able to hold out any longer, he conditioneth with the King, that if supply should not come within a moneth, he would deliver up the Town to the King; and for further assurance of performance, giveth his eldest son, *Thomas Seton*, in pledge. Not long after, the Scots rayfed their forces, under the conduct of *Archbald Donglasse*; they present themselues before the English forces, which the King perceiuing (though the time of the condition was not yet expired) he sendeth to the Captain, wil-

ling him either to deliver up the Town, or he would hang both his sonnes before his eyes (for the one was taken, and the other was a pledge.) In the distracted soule of the worthy father of so hopefull sonnes, loue, mercy, honour and fidelity, could not choose but make a great conflict. But to be short, his rarest wife, the mother of the children, proved here an helper aboue her sex. Shee laid the honour of his house, the duty to his Country, and loyall fidelity to his Prince, in ballance against his private affection; she shewed him that they might haue more children, but honour and fidelity once lost, he could never recover; and she had often heard from the learned, *That to sacrifice their children in the service of their Country, was their highest prayse.* The Captain admiring the spirit of the woman, was perswaded with her words, and removing himselfe to another part, that he might not behold so dolefull a spectacle, was contented rather to part with the sonns of his loue, then with his *fidelity in his service.*

The punishment
of traitors

But because places of note in the time of oppugnation, be often not onely pestered with Traytors, but also betrayed by them; it shall be the States care, to look narrowly to such, and to giue them their desert if they be found out. These be the speciall underminers, and nothing can be safe so long as they are within. If the name of a Traytor be odious, what should be the penalty of a Traytor? Each nation hath laboured to exceed other in the rigour of punishing Traytors. The *Egyptians* prickt them through all their members to death. The *Grecians* threw them headlong over Rocks; the *Macedonians* stoned them; the *Romans* drew them in peeces. In a word, *to so heynous a crime what death can be sufficiently devised?* Yea, as they haue been hatefull to those whose ends they haue served, as to *Cesar*, *Phillip* of *Macedon*, and others; so from some they haue received a shamefull death in stead of a reward. Instance these Villaines that betrayed the Castle of Buda, with their Captain: notwithstanding

Que nex
tanta tanto
sceleri inveni
niri potuit?

Standing of *Solymans* promise of safe departure; when he understood how villanously they had used their Captaine, he caused to put every man of them to death. The other that betrayed the Rhodes was as finely served: for his promised wife and portion were presented; but the Turke told him, that he would not haue a Christian to be his son-in-law, but he must be a *Musil-man*, that is, a *beleeuving Turke*, both within and without; and therefore he caused his *baptized skin* (as he called it) to be taken off, and him to be cast in a bed strewed with salt, that he might get a new skin, and so he should be his son-in-law: but the wicked wretch ended his life with shame and torment.

Not to trouble you with more examples, take heed of two sorts especially; namely, of Traytors to their God, or Idolaters. The Towne, or people, professing the truth of Gods worship, can look for no safety where they are in trust with the place. *Constantines* position (as I shewed you) of his apostate Courtiers is very true: *They that are not faithfull to God, how should they be faithfull to men?* A second sort is, such as haue been tainted with treacherous dealing; they that are inured to their tricks of *Legerdemain*, and are once fallen a peddling with the enemies of State, they can never leav chopping. A traytor will never be true till he get a new skin, with the Turks son-in-law. When *Lycimachus* K. of Macedo, besieged Ephesus, he used the help of *Mandro*, a very wicked perfidious fellow, and an arch-pyrat: he was quickly corrupted by *Lycimachus*. And as he used to bring in ships laden with men, and goods to *Ephesus* for a prey; so one time he brought in the strongest of the Macedonians with their hands bound, as though they had been captiues: who fitting themselves of Arms out of the Castle, brought in *Lycimachus*, who possessed the Town. When the *Ephori* commanded *Agis* to take the yong men with him, and to goe with one there present, who had promised to deliver them up a Castle: *How shall I (Lords, saith he) trust him with these*

Two sorts
of men to
be taken
heed of.

Plut. in
Lacon.

these young men, who hath betrayed his owne country? giving thereby to understand, that nothing can be safely committed to them that will betray their country.

Applica-
tion.

Nec fami-
liaritate nec
intimione
buccella,
&c.
Hier. Epist.
ad rufc:

Polien.

It is to be feared, that wee haue too few *Setons*, & too many *Stanleys*: the treasure cannot be safe when the thief is in the house. Besides (the dissembling *Giliadits*, who may passe the watch without inquirie for the word) there be the craftie *Balaams*, there is the double hearted *Semiiab*, cyther to curse or to cog it over for the enemies ends. Whē *Tobiah* & *Samballat*, who seeme to build, take heed of Gods house. One obserueth well of *Isa- das* his treason, that no bond could tie up his wicked heart from that monstrous act, neyther the common graces which he had, nor his familiaritie with Christ, nor the giving of the *Jop*, nor the knowing of him to be the son of God: when men are sold to worke wickednesse, they will sell their country, & that for a gaine. I read of *Clearchus* the Tyrant of *Heraclea*, that taking an indignation against his owne people, could find neyther cause nor occasion to plague them; at last he calleth out all the special youth, in the very heat of the *canicaler dayes*, to besiege a town in *Thracia*; he incamps them in a marriish ground, and commandeth them there to stay, taking the higher ground himselfe with his mercenaries, where there was plentie of fresh springs, he caused them stay so long, that through extreame heat, & corrupt water, they lost all their lives, which was the thing he desired. Was not this to betray the lives of his people, and that without any hope of gaine?

The more eminent the person, the more odious the treason. All circumstances considered, could there be a more odious treason then that of *Barnevelts*, who was advanced by the State to what honour, wealth, and esteeme, that the common wealth could afford him; of whom at any time could the State deserve better? Should a pillar of the State subvert the State? his Excellence gaue him no just matter of envy: for though he sate at the sterne; yet many a waue went over his head, that never touched *Barnevelt*. What, would nothing

seru

serve but Spaine must haue all? What wanted he that Spain could haue giuen him? nothing but a traytors reward, and that he had in the end. I would all of his cut, were as openly knowen, and as closely followed: but God will unmaske them to their eternall shame. It shall fall out with all grand traytors, as it fell out with the *Duke of Venice*, namely, *Falarius*, who (beside the condigne punishment, that he suffered, for conspiring against his country) lyeth under an *hierogliphe*, of infamous memorie to this day: for where as the statues of all the *Dukes*, from the beginning of the State to this day, are erected in the Senate house; instead of the statue of *Martin Falarius*, that pernicious Prince, there is set an empty chary of State, covered with a blacke vayle, intimating thereby, *that traiterous Princes to the state deserve the obliteration of their names, with a monument of perpetuall hatred.* As there is no punishment greater then publique hatred; so here is no sin better deserveth it, then the betraying of the country. Had the danger of these bin well pondered, the nests of such well searched, and all that were found foule in the gun-powder Treason duely punished, the *lowing of the oxen*, and *the bleating of the Sheep* had not this day beene so loud in our eares. As *Sertorius* in Spaine dispersed his forces for his greater advantage, (which being recollected did more annoy their enemies;) so since that time their dispersed forces are hugely increased. Our slighting over of that unparelled attempt, what will it not incourage traytors to doe: our lopping of some superfluous branches maketh the tree more fruitfull: the casting a litle water upon a hot fire, maketh it burne so much the hotter. The not casting out of those whom God would haue cast out, may cause them doe to us as wee should haue done to them.

I come to the last, which is *Constancie* in holding out. As he is a pusillanimious assaylant that rayseth siege upon the first repulse; so he is a faint defendant that gives ouer at the first assault. The enemies semblance or resolution of continuance

Constancie in holding out.

nuance should not daunt a whit or discourage the besieged. How bravely did *Constantinople* hold out against the *Saracens* where, besides those that were slaine there dyed with famine and cold 300000, and so they desisted. Likewise hot and furious were the assaults that *Soliman* made upon the same citie in *Anno* 1529. His army consisted of 144000: but *Frederick*, count *Elect*or, Generall of the Imperiall forces, did man the Towne exceedingly well, three dayes before the *Turkes* approching. *Philip*, Count *Palatine* shewed himselfe a braue souldier in that siege, by whose meanes, under Gods favour, the Towne was safely defended, the Turkish tyrant with shame and loose repulsed and set a packing. He lost as it is reported 80000, besides those that perished by famine & cold in the way. *Harlem* maintayned their siege for 10 moneths to the very last pinch. *Ostend* held out against all the Spanish force, and Italian cunning, for three yeares and three moneths, and gaue it over at last on honorable termes.

Reasons.

There be manie reasons to bind the defendants to all possible preseverance. First, there is nothing more dishonorable, then to quit a place in all apparence defensible: for he that is not a man in a *Hould*, will never be a man in the field. Secondly, while men put on noble resolution, and quit themselves like men, the Lord in straits doth send them admirable deliverances. In that lamentable miserie of the siege of *Samaria*, beset by *Benhadad* King of *Siria*, you may see how they bought & ate asses flesh, & doves dung; yea their childrens flesh, & yet holding out against hope, & aboue hope, the Lord was seene in the mount, the Lord made the hoast of *Syria* to hear a noyse of chariots & horses, & of a great hoast, saying one to another, the King of *Israel* hath hired the neighbour Kings to come against us; wherefore they fled in the twilight, & left their tents, & their horses, & all the campe, as it was, furnished with all plentie: So that *Israel* was not onely delivered, but also had their wants supplied. When *Duke de Alva* with all his forces, after the taking of *Harlem* had ingaged *Leyden*, that they

2. Kings
chap. 6. v 7.

they could neyther sallie, nor receive supplie, he battered their bulwarke with 18 peece of ordinance, making a sufficient breach as he thought, insomuch that they were in a desperate case: but when he came to the entry, he found such brave entertainment, that in three assaults he lost many of his best Captaines, and no fewer then 1600 of his bravest souldiers: but being never a whit daunted, but rather intraged with this encounter, the next day the Lord rayned from heauen, so that the rayfing of the waters caused them to raise their siege, where they left some of their battery. The like may be said of *Mountaban*, where *Duke de Maine* had advanced his battery, made fit all necessaries for the very last assault; insomuch that he doubted not (as himselfe said) but within two or three dayes he should take the Towne: but one day after dinner walking along to view his works, one that was come thether out of *S. Iohn de Angelot* observed him a far off, who with a peece of a longer sife then ordinary, did levell at him, and strucke him starck dead; after which the siege was rayfed.

Thirdly, some by the brave entertainment of assaults doe quit themselves of their enemy. Fourthly, by holding out they attayne to honorable conditions, which the enemy would never afford them, but that he feareth their valour will answer their resolution. Fifthly, and lastly, a resolute continuance saveth both life & honour, where, an untimely surender might loose both, by laying them downe in the hand of a *merciles* and *faithlesse enemy*. The best of the defendants at the siege of *Leyden*, did ingenuously confesse, that through the feare of the people, and also of the Souldiers, they had quitted the Towne, if it had not ben blocked up; in doing whereof, they had lost their honour, and it may be their lives; yea which was more, they might have lost the country: but being bound to see it, by continued valour they overcame, saving their lives, honour, and the place; yea they so daunted the courage of the *Duke de Alva*, and so de-

faced his credit as all his former encounters had never done the like: after this he never attempted any thing worthy of note. To conclude this point, let them take heed in this continuance of the enemies dalliance; yea (to giue them a caveat) to beware whose word they take, or whom they trust. I will say no more but *remember Wesell*.

The law-
full usage
of the sur-
rendred,
whether
on com-
position
or at mer-
cie,

There is one point more concerning the oppugnation and expugnation of houlds to be treated of, namely, the just and lawfull usage of the surrendred or taken: for the defendāts, sometimes render upon *composition*, sometimes they are taken in the *very assault*: In the former, fidelitie is to be kept; and in the latter, cruelty to be avoided. The word of a souldier, *is the worth of a Souldier*. As publique faith inviolable by the lawes of nations, in all places, should haue place, so especially in keeping conditions with the surrendred, whose lives as they are be-trusted into the enemies hands upon articles; so it is a kind of sacriledge to breake any one of them. What honour from man, or blessing from God can that souldier expect, who hath torne his colours and flung away his shield? To dye, lapt in the colours, or with the shield in the hand, is counted a matter of the greatest honour. The *Gracian lawes* set a mulct for him that *lost his shield*, but none for him that *lost his sword*, signifying thereby, that their care should be greater for their owne defence, then to offend others. This was all the care of dying *Epaminondas*, *is my shield safe* (said he.) It was the onely command that the *Gracian* woemen gaue their children going to warr; *eyther to dye upon their shield, or to bring backe their shield with them*. This fidelitie is the shield and colours of a souldier, which when he hath lost, he hath no more to keepe. By this allusion *Henry the 4*, was nipt in the quick by one of our owne Poets, *he lost* (saith he) *his shield*. The execution of the two sonnes of *William Seton* (formerly mentioned) contrary to covenant, & the law of nations, was a foule stain to *Edward the first*, and much regrated of his owne. All the excellent

Am. Cly-
pens salus
Amian. lib.
25.

of sup
TOUTA
of xpi
TOUTA.

parts, and magnanimious actions of Charles, Duke of Borbon, were eaten out with this one Canker-worm: the Inscription of his Tombe, mentioned by Ferronus, declareth his valour. *Aucto imperio, devicto Gallo, pontifice obesso, Roma capta, Caroli Borboni hoc marmor cineres continet;* that is, *The Empire increased, Italy overthrowen, France overcome, the Pope besieged, Rome taken; this Tombe containeth the ashes of Charles of Borbone:* But his *sidefragie* vayleth all these with black; for, as Histories tell us, he oppressing Millain, much pressed it at last with the payment of 30000 Crownes for to pay his souldiers. And though he had sundry times broken with them, yet he got them to belecue him upon his oath, and *imprecation*, that if they would let him haue it, if ever he troubled them again, he wished, that a bullet might strike the head from him. On this hope to be rid of him (though they could hardly doe it) yet they made him up the mony; but they were never a whit the better: for once having the mony, without faith of promise, or fear of expressed imprecation, he let loose his spoyling souldiers to all their wonted outrages. This was an hereditary fault in *Hanibal*, for it was his Nationall sin: Hence the proverbe, *punica vel Carthaginea fides, &c.* But now the Papiests haue taken the badg from them. For in both these two, infidelity and cruelty, they exceed the *African, Turke, Grecian, or Thracian*; if any goe beyond him, let him haue *Pluto his chaire*. It may verily be said of that brood, as *Tully* said of *Africke*; That that Nation was never to be trusted, for it never respecteth faith. When all things are at the best with them, as they suppose; yet there is one thing wanting with them, as *Lewis* the 11, said of France; namely, *truth or fidelity*.

And in this one thing they exceed all other, that they doe not onely practise, but preach *perfidie*. After the burning of *Iohn Hus*, contrary to the Emperours safe conduct, they made an act in the Councell of Constance, That no faith should be kept with Hereticks. *Iulius* the second goeth one point

Lib. 8. de rebus gest. Gall.

Guicciard. Hist. Italic. lib. 7.

Nunquam ista natio coluit fidem. *apud* *μεν* *θρα* *σος*, *λο* *γισμος* *δε* *ουνο* *φει*

further, and telleth us, *the Church is not bound to keep oaths.*
 And as their position is (which I shall haue occasion further
 to handle) such is their practise, in their Capitulations
 which is the present point in hand. How was the capitula-
 tion of Sancere performed by the French Papists? *D. de Al-*
va his faith to Harlem, Narden, and Zurphen, was washed
 out *with blood.* And here I renew the challenge to all
 the Romish calumniators, to tell me if they can, what Pro-
 testants, at any time, contrary to their faith given, hath put
 any, surrendered upon termes, to the sword. The Devill I
 know hath been about to *make where he wanteth.* Instance
 an imposture of the French Papists, who to cover their
 more then Turkish infidelity, and bloody cruelty, like the
Fox that lost her sayl, did labour to bring the Protestants un-
 der the same aspersiō. *Popiliniere* a French Historian re-
 cordeth (but falsly) how a Popish town in France, being
 besieged by the Protestants, was surrendred upon com-
 position of life and liberty to the besieged; which
 composition (saith he) was not kept by the Protestants: But
 according to the truth indeed, it was rendred at their dis-
 cretion. *Oubigne* Historian to *Henry* the 4, of France, meet-
 ing with *Popiliniere*, the penner of the said calumny, char-
 ged upon him the wronging of the Protestants with his pen,
 contrary to his knowledge: *Popiliniere*, with teares in his
 eyes, confessed that *his pen had been hired to it*, to the end
 that the Protestants might bee charged with falsifying
 their faith, in one particular of that kind, as well as the
 Papists.

τυφλα
 τικτυον
 ιχθυματα

Oubign.
 Histor. Fr.

Miniers that bloody Tyrant, having taken by treachery
 the Town of *Cabriers*, entered the Church whether the peo-
 ple were fled for succour, and caused man, woman, and
 child to be cruelly slaine. So the Duke of *Guise* at *Vasiacum*,
 caused his souldiers to enter the Church, and put all to the
 sword. No murther so monstrous, nor no act so unnaturall,
 which against the firmest oath, or strictest bond in nature,
 they

they will not commit. Amongst a million of instances, none more remarkeable; then that horrible act of *Gaveret* the French-man (if he might be called a man; and not rather a monster:) He being given to all manner of vice was cashiered by his father; yet found entertainment by a Gentleman of great note, in whose house he swore himselfe brother to a yong Gentleman; but comming to his patrimony he turned Papist, of whose fidelity the Papists could hardly be assured: He to put them out of doubt, undertook the killing of *Henry* the 4, then King of Navarre; and to that end he bought an excellent horse; But a little from *Burdeaux* he was discovered to the King; where the King tryed his horse, discharged his pistols that hung at his saddle, and so dismissed him. Having sayled of this, he plotteth the death of his dearest friends the Protestants, whom he invited to his house; namely, the Gentleman his father, *Monsieur Seamars*; his sworn brother, and six other Gentlemen of good note. All the dinner time he entertained them with protestation of obligements to his said father: but this was the bloody Catastrophe. Sixteen men came up in Arms, and laid hold on all the guests; himselfe layeth hold on his father; and willing the rest to stay their hands, till he had dispatched him; he stabbed the old Gentleman (crying for mercy to the Lord) foure times to the heart. After that he runniades all the rest with his own hands, saue three that were dispatched at their first entrance. The yong Gentleman, his brother, he reserved to further torment, whom he brought to a window; and caused him to sing (as he could very sweetly, though then; no doubt, he did it with a very heavy heart) towards the end of the ditty; that bloody Traytor cryed out with many blasphemies; that there was not one *Gaveret* that could end that Tragedie: and with that stabbed his brother, first in the throat, and then to the heart; and so flung the dead body of him, and all the rest, out of the window into the ditch. The act being discovered, it was

Onhign.

known, that he had promised to his Confessor, to manifest himselfe an undoubted Catholique, by setting a sure seale to his profession. Iudge you if the devill himselfe would not be of this profession, that hath such a Seale.

Hist. lib. 23

As for their monstrous outrages and cruelty, the blood of the slain in the Massacre of Paris, proclaimeth it, where they neither spared age, sex, nor quality, as *Natalis Comes* telleth us: where were murdered 60000 persons, or upward.

Heretici

quos non

possunt ver-

bo, eos pu-

tant gladio

feriendos

cruentis le-

get ore dic-

tant manu

scribunt.

In Grat.

Auxen. de

non trad.

Basil.

Tom. 3.

Vnde ap-

paret ubi

scaditia, ibi

sophistica,

& hereti-

cos in Ec-

clesia sem-

per fuisse

crudeles,

To this add the loud cry of the late and fresh bleeding State of *Bohemia*, and the *Palatinate*, wherein the Spaniard and Austrian haue renewed an Indian cruelty; no fear nor sex, haue they had any pitty of. View but that imman and monstrous murther, of an ancient Minister, and man of God, *Mounsieur Mileus*, by the Spanyard in the taking of *Heidelberg* (notwithstanding that such should be safe by the very lawes and practise of the Heathens,) yet they took him having abused his daughter, and tyed a small cord about his head, which with trunchions they wreathed about till he squeased out his braines.

To thinke on their cruelty, me thinkes, should make our heart to bleed: But when God maketh inquisition for blood, woe to that soule of whom God shall require any of it.

As the comming of these Dragons from *Babylon* in relation to their bloody executions, bewrayeth them to be of the blood of the Whore (for she is the mother, and *Romulus* the father) so it shews the nature of the Religion, or rather Arch-Heresie, which they doe professe. A bloody disposition is the very badge of heresie, as *Hierom* telleth us; for, *Heretici* when they cannot overcome with the Word, they smite with the sword; they indite with their mouths, and write with their hands bloody lawes. Hence it appeareth, that *Hereticks* haue been cruell; because cruelty and falshood of Religion goe alwayes together, where the one is, there the other is. But

this they are worse then heathen *Rome*, who by the very light of nature and by the law of nations, both protested, and professed against this breaking covenant with the enemy. Assurance made to the enemy (saith Tully) is at any hand to be kept. *Iosua* kept with the *Gibeonites*. fides hosti
data ser-
vanda:
Off. lib. 2.

If men will not be moved with all these, let them observe the judgment of God on such as haue broken in this kind. A remarkable example of this in *Sauls* posteritie, who were hanged up for breaking of the covenant made by *Iosua* with the *Gibeonites*, although it is said he slew them of zeale. Was not *Edward* the first, served in his owne son *Edward* the second, as he served *William Seton* in his sonnes? For by *Mortimer* his owne subiect, against all loyalty, his life was taken from him. And what became of *Charles of Borbon* in the taking of *Rome*, while too too adventurously he scaled the wal, according to his imprecation, he was shot quite through, and so for breaking with *Millaine* he made his end. 2. Sam. 21. 1.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Exercising of Forces in the Field.

NOW I come from oppugnation and defence of places, to speake of exercising forces in the field, the ordering and ioyning of battle, the lawfull use of victorie; and the behaviour required in the conquerour and conquered. As the neerer things come to their Center, they move the faster; and the nigher the Sun approcheth the Zenith, it is the hotter: so this, the last part of my subiect, being the chiefe part, & highest point of all the warlike motions, it requireth the speciall workmanship, & that of such a workman as is highly gifted with wit and experience. *Haniball* could not but laugh

Stobæus
Serm. 52.

at a stoicke, disputing by arguments, that *onely a wise mā should be a commander*, not knowing that use, and experience must concur to the making of a militarie man: so if my affection to the businesse, should not gaine excuse, in place of approbation, I should move laughing, and insteade of a *plaudite*, I should gaine an *apage*: but having experience that men of Armes, are generous, euē in affecting them that loue Armes, I proceed to touch, though not to sound, the depth of those things. And if my skill were to my affection, yet could I not direct in every particular: because necessitie offereth many inconveniences in war, which the wisest and expertest Commander cannot avoid: for the which notwithstanding there is a good generall rule, *to correct that by art and counsell which of its owne nature is aduerse*.

The hearts
of sould-
diours
should be
knit to-
gether by
the bond
of loue.
Lib. 2.
cap. 21.
Caritas in-
ter milites
comilitio
augetur.

To this rule, for the better directing of all the particular passages, let me add or perfix the counsell of *Vegetius*; that the hearts of souldiers should be knit together by the bond of loue; yea, they should be compacted and united together, not onely in order, but also in affection: so they all should be but one body or one soule in diuers bodyes: where an Army thriveth; *Tryphonius* the lawyer observeth, not onely knowledge & familiaritie, but also *loue increaseth in the fellowship of war*.

Two Spe-
ciall things

Lay hold
on occa-
sion.

Stobæus
Serm. 52.

The Army being thus bound together, as head and body, in their severall places and functions, ready to serve one another, there be two things which the leader especially must set before his eyes; namely, *laying hold of present occasion and celeritie of dispatch*: The former as I shewed is the soule of the action, and the latter is the quick passage of the animal spirits, effecting the functions of the soule. Life once lost cannot be recovered: *occasion once past cannot be recalled*. *Lucius Portius Cato*, speaking of *Catelin*, taketh this (as he sheweth) for a rule approved on by all, *that in all our affaires, opportunitie is to be served, and nothing more to be avoided than neglect of occasion*. *Agessilaus* being demanded what were the rarest ornaments of a commander; summed them in these three

three particulars, *Valor, Counsell, and laying hold on occasion.* That proverbe of *Vespations* courtiers taking their best opportunity to petition him, is an excellent motto for a commander, *know thy time.* A man in this sence must be a time-server as, one injoyneth us, *serve time.* A man, as *Erasmus* saith, *must snatch at that which fleeth away.* *Scipio* the great *Cunctator*, did call it the part of a *slugard* to pretermitt occasion. The neglect of this lost *Pompey* his greatnesse. First, not to dispute whether he did well or no in quitting *Rome*, at *Cesars* approaching; I am sure he lost his way, when he went to *Greece*, to cast himselfe upon inexperienced and weake forces, degenerate from the use of Armes. Had he rather gone into *Spaine*, of whose warlike and strenuous souldiers of prooffe, (when with *Q. Metellus* he warred against *Sertorius*) he had experience; without question, he had made his part good against *Cesar*: for which I haue this ground, that *Cesar* in his last fight in *Spaine* with *Pompey* the elder, was put to such a desperate pinch, that he was in parle of offering violence to himselfe. What would he haue done if *Pompey* himselfe had been there, especially in the beginning, when *Cesar* was neyther of any great power, nor authoritie in the place? This error of *Pompey* made way for many others: for his campe in *Greece* began to grow effeminate; lazie, full of ryot, and neglect of all good occasions; and that out of the abundance of good things euilly abused; insomuch that it was liker the camp of *Darius*, or *Sardanapalus*, then of the ancient Romanes, such as *Camillus*, *Fabritius*, &c. But the neglect following is most palpably of all without excuse; neyther thinke I, if *Pompey* were alive, that he would deny it, namely, in the battel of *Dyrrachium*, wherein he overthrew & routed *Cesar*; but he neglected to follow the victory, which when *Cesar*, perceived he said of *Pompey*, *that he knew not how to overcome.* You may see then in this instance and others of the like nature, the saying of *Lucanus* made good.

Neglect of time doth ever hurt the cause.

B b

γνοῖς
καίρον.
χρονον
δαλεω.
Avidius va-
piendum,
quod cito
prateruolat.

Negabit
eum scire
vincere.
Semper no-
cuit de fer-
re paratis.

As

Vto celerity.

In rebus bellicis celeritas amplius solet prodesse quā virtus.

How to quit themselves in a strait.

A witty Stratagem

Lib. 1. c. 5.

Appian Alexandrin. de Bello Hispan.

As occasion thus doth animate the businesse; so celerity in performance is the *energetical* power of life in military performances. *Quicknesse* (as *Vegetius* saith) is often more helpfull then valour it selfe. That golden saying of *Cassius* should in capitall letters, alwaies be in the eyes of great Commanders, That whatsoever he had effected, celerity had done it.

Another thing to be thought on in the leading of Forces is how to quit themselves, when they are brought into a strait, and so invironed with the enemy, that there is no way to passe without hazard; then and there is the special use of some cunning stratagem. Examples of such we have many of good note in *Frontine*; and none more wittie then that of *Hanibal* against *Fabius*, although none more common: Where *Hanibal* was brought to such a strait that he could quit himselfe no way, but through the narrow passages that *Fabius* kept: He tyed bundles of combustible matter between the Hornes of Oxen; and set them on fire. The Romans sent out by *Fabius*, could not tell at first what to make of it; for they thought it had been some prodigious thing: but conceiving what it was, they told the Generall who fearing it to be some flight, to draw them out, kept close in their Camp; so that *Hanibal*, with all his Forces past without opposition. This was indeed a witty one, but yet a costly one: for the pattern, out of which he had it, cost his father *Amilcar* his life. The Dukes of Spain, against whom he warred, yoked up Oxen in Waines, loaden with wood, which the Army droue before them, as they came toward the enemy: who counted it a foolish toy, but even in the joyning battle, they fired the wood, and droue the Oxen and Waines so fired upon the enemy, whose forces were broken, and Army quite disordered: so that the Spanissh, following the advantage, slew *Amilcar*, and many of his Army. Out of this Stratagem, no doubt, did *Hanibal* pick the other.

The next thing following, advantagious to fight, is the opportunity of place, which as they are to take, so they are to take heed they loose it not by circumvention, as some have done to their own undoing. Besides strength and valour (saith *Livi*) the place helps much; He giveth a reason, that Armes being used with advantage from above, may fix their blowes with their own waight. *Vegetius* hath the same position, whereof he giveth this reason; He that goeth against the height hath a double enemy to deale with; namely, both the adversary and the ground. This advantage was well looked to by *Marcus Curius* against *Pirrhus*, and by *Pompey* against *Mithridates*; *Lucullus* against *Tigranes*; *Cesar* against *Pharnaces*; and *Hanibal* against *Marcellus*; all these, by advantage of place defeated their enemies. But as I said of Encamping; so I say of the place for fight: It is not alwaies in the Commanders power to make choyce; for sometimes in March they are charged by the enemy, and then being forced to fight, not because they would, but because it pleaseth the adversary: they must take the place as it falleth out: but if the place be incommo- dious, they must labour by all means to gain a better, de- tracting fight all that they can, till they obtain it. *Publius Decius*, Tribune of the souldiers, obtained leaue of the Con- sul *Cornelius*, being to fight with the Samnites, that with some few forces he might adventure the taking of an Hill that was nigh hand by; which he did indeed, to their own gain, and the enemies losse. The sole disadvantage of the place lost the Earle of *Anguise* the field against *Edward* the first.

The taking and keeping of a fit place.

Præter vir-
tutem locus
quoque ad-
iuvat.

Vt arma
librata

ponderibus
figantur

lib. 7.

Qui adver-
sus nitatur

clivo, du-
plex subit

& cum
hoste, &

cum loco
certamen.

lib. 3. c. 13.

Pugnandū
sepe non

quia tu ve-
lis, sed quia

hostes inbēt.

The second branch of this point, concerneth the keeping of a fit place already taken. The wise enemy perceiving the odds of the place, will detract fight by all means and labour to shift his adversary from his place, and then giue him battle. All the cunning in this kind that I have read, affoord- eth not a fitter instance then that of *Hanibal* against *Fulvius*, the Roman Generall; who being seated for fight very com-

The keep-
ing of a fit
place.

modiously, was more negligent in watching, and rash in skirmishing then he should haue been. *Hanibal* perceiving his humour in the very dark of the dawning, presenteth *Perdin* to the Watch, who giving an alarum, *Fulvius* with his forces breaketh out, whereupon *Hanibal*, by the most of his forces laid in ambush, intercepts the place, chargeth them on their backs, and slew 8000 of the bravest souldiers that Rome afforded. Not unlike to this, was that Stratagem of the English against the Scottish, at the Field of *Floudon*: King *James* was counselled by his Nobles, to seat himselfe beyond the river of *Til*; where, by the opportunity of the bankes, and of the river *unpassable* (but at one bridge) they might saue themselus, and haue the enemy at their mercy: for planting their Ordinance toward the bridge, they might let some of the English forces passe, as though they neglected the bridge, and thereafter cut the bridge with the Ordinance, when they would, and so divide their enemies forces, which they might easily foile without danger to themselues: but this counsell could not finde place with a man hastening to destruction: yet counsell, or common sense, so farre prevailed with him, as to fortifie himselfe in the next fittest place, namely, on a hill, at the foot of a great hill, called *Zewin*: the place was no where *pervious*, but by a strayt and narrow passage, which they did fortifie on either side with their Munition; & they stood no lesse then need of this advantage, for they were far fewer in number then the English; who understanding by their Spyes, that there was no comming at them in that place, without eminent danger, they remove their Camp, making shew as though they went toward *Barwick*, or otherwise into Scotland, to quit the dammage they had sustained; which the King fearing especially, quits the place, sets fire in the shiels, and such things as they could not carry: the smoke deprived them of the sight of the English, who set a compasse about and crossed *Till*, with all their Ordinance, comming on the backs

backs of the Scots, whom they found in an equall plain called Floudon: Thus the Scots drawn out of their strength, having their Ordinance to transplace, at the very incounter with two Battalions, either of them consisting of as many as all their Forces, they were forced to fight at all disadvantages; where in a hot and bloody fight (as most hath been heard of,) they held it out till night overtook them. Great was the losse on both sides, and for number equall: but the Scottish losse exceeded in quality of person; for they lost as Royall a King, and illustrious Nobility as any Europe could afford: and all, as you see, upon neglect of good counsell, and want of taking heed.

Neither would I haue any so to presume of opportunity of place, as without valour and vigilancy it could secure them: for the enemy may adventure beyond all reason and expectation, and so surprize them in the same wheron they doe presume. *Pharnaces* charged *Cesar* so hotly and unexpectedly against the steep of a Hill; that had not their inexpugnable valour quit them, they had lost both the place and themselves. Thus being placed, they are to inure their rawest souldiers under some good Leaders to light skirmishes, as the Romans inured their Gally-men first to use their oares by rowing on the sands. Further, in keeping place for the annoyance of the enemy, men must take heed of false fears suggested by the enemy. So was *Fabius* hood-wincked by *Hanibal*. It is good for a Generall to haue a Lyons eye for his Sympell, with this inscription; *Let not fear nor error transport you.*

He that
to error
transported

CHAP. XXXIII.

The ordering of the Battell.

NO W it followeth, that I come to a point of no small importance; namely, *the ordering of the battell*, in the undertaking whereof it may be justly said to me, as *Pirrhus* said to one that would undertake to teach him the Art of imbatling; *I stand not need* (saith he) *of a Commander whose eares did never tingle at the sound of a Trumpet*: Therefore let me apologise my weaknesse once more, with the like speech that the people should use to *Archippus*; *Take heed to thy Ministry*: so may I safely say to Commanders; *Take heed to the ordering of your battles*.

Col. 4. 17.

Quod ferro & acuminis gladiorum armata sit.

A battel consisteth of men & order, as of matter and forme.

Plutarch in Marcello.

Lib. 2.

The very word importeth the necessity of order; it is called *Acies* (saith *Isidor*) *from the defensive Armes of prooffe, and from the sharpnesse of the sword*. When sword's are sharpened, and the sight of the eye is cleared, then they are fitted for cutting and fight; so when men are set in battle array they are indeed called *Acies*: and as man consisteth of *matter* and *forme*; so a battle consisteth of *men* and *order*. *The weale and wisely disposing of a battle*, (saith *Vegetius*) *helpeth much to the victory*. *Gaius Flaminius* being to fight against the French, was called off, both by the Senates letters, and by some prodigious tokens; he opened not the letters, but charged the enemy, where he slew 8000, and took 17000. This great victory of *Flaminius* was got, as *Polybius* observeth by the due ordering of his Forces. This was the main help to *Alexanders* victories, as witnesseth *Q. Curtius* in his fourth book. When the Romans had equalled the Carthaginians with a Captain; insomuch that it was hard to tell, whether

was

was the better : where then lay the oddes? Not in number, nor in fayned fortune, nor in such a Generall, as men call foolishly *fortunate without reason* : but it was especially (as *Polybius* well observe) to be attributed to the ordering of the battell : for the Roman *Acies* (as the Authour insisteth in commending of it) far excelled that *Phalangical* forme which *Hanibal* used, and that for sundry reasons. For in it there is an easier *motion*, a quicker *turning*, and fitter *distance*. This form will fit any place or time, where the *Phalanx* will fit but place and time appropriated.

As *Cesar* could not endure the least errour in battle array ; so *Alexander* by no meanes could be moved to break it. In his last battell with *Darius*, at Arbela, many Companies of the Persians brake in, and droue away the Macedonians goods, *Parmeno* thinking much of that, desired *Alexander* to fall upon them. At no hand, answered *Alexander*, will I dissolv my battle, with which I must encounter the enemies forces, and not goe rescue beasts. For if we be overcome we shall need none of these ; but if we overcome, both ours and theirs shall be our own. A few forces so well ordered, with some advantage of place, hath put a huge Army to their stand, and made them glad to be gone. A notable instance of this we have in *Chabrias* the Athenian Captain, who having embattled himselfe in the side of a narrow Hil, in exceeding good order ; *Agiselaus*, that great souldier, chargeth him with 18000 foot, and 1500 horse ; where he was but 5000 foot, and 200 horse ; but in contempt, as it were, of him and all his forces, he causeth his souldiers to attend him, with their pikes ordered, and their Targets sunck to their knees. *Agiselaus* wondring at their excellent order, and constant resolution, that they would not stirre one foot, like a wise man, gaue them over.

Now for the severall forms of battle array, it is neither pertinent, nor possible, for me to discover them. The *Grecian Phalanx*, and the *Roman Acies*, or the mixture of both,

Non fortuna ut solent ii (qui felices sine ratione ducunt) sed industria & accis industria pericula tribuitur victoria lib. 12.

Front. lib. 2 cap. 3.

Fulgos l. 7. cap. 3. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 15.

both is the most common; the frame of the first, you may gather from *Vegetius*; the description of the second, word for word you have in *Polybins*.

The manner in ordering of the battle to be looked to.

In this point of imbatteling, there is not onely a due form required, but also fit and convenient matter in the due place: some doe order the weakest forces in the front, and the strongest in the wings; some doe the contrary: no certain rule can be given in this, but as occasion shall be given from the enemies order, so must they doe. The ordering of *Xantippus* his forces, was the onely means of restoring *Carthage* from her ruines: He placed his stronger forces in the wings, and his weaker in the front. In the fight against *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, he charged the light forces, that after they had shot their shafts, they should retire themselves within the wings, drawing the enemies after them, and withall they should get themselves without their own, and help to compasse in the enemy.

As the powers are often placed, as occasion is given by the enemy; so sometimes the enemy will deceive by a sudden Change of transposition of his order. *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, whose forces is of use.

Front lib. 2
c. 3. Num.
10.

led out his Army some dayes before the fight, with the strongest in the front, and weakest in the wings: but that day that he came to ioyne indeed, he led them in a contrary order, and so circumvened them. I will conclude this point of ordering with these generall rules to be observed, in every forme of battle (though especially in a four square battell with a long front,) namely, first, that there be no gulf, nor emptines (for so they terme it) in front or wing, or any particular part of a battell, because in it the order by the irruption of the enemy, is easilie broken.

In acie ordinanda ne sit sinus aut curvatura.

Another rule in battell ray, is this, that the Sunne, dust, or wind be with them, and adverse to their enemies. Where this advantage is got, it maketh much for the victory. This helped *Hanibal*, that sutable Commander, to the day, at *Cannas*,

to the almost undoing of the Romanes, as *Historiographers* relate. The great advantage of this, doth herein manifest it selfe, that the greatest Commanders haue contended for it. It stood the Romanes instead (being taught by their owne skill) against the *Cymbrians*; and the Generall of the *Cymbrians* made use of it against *Marius*. The victory alwayes went with the advantage of this Stratagem.

*Libi. Florus
Plut. Front.
lib. 2. cap. 6*

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Ioyning of Battell.

NOW I come to the *apex*, or highest point of warlike exercise, namely, the ioyning of battell, or fight it selfe, which determineth in three or foure houres, that which hath taken up a long times preparation, and a great deale of deliberation; therefore this adventure is well and wisely to be considered; and the rather because *failings in fight leaues no place for amends*. That *Apothegme* of *Lamachus*, to a Capitaine of a Company, is worth the remembrance. The Capitaine being rebuked for an error in fight, told *Lamachus* the Generall, that he would doe so no more: to whom he answered prettily, that for a second error there is no place in fight. *Vegetius* giveth another reason, from the preciousnes of life that lyeth at the stake; *There is no pardon* (saith he) *for an error in fight; because all the good of life, and life it selfe, is that which is contended for*. This as the same Author saith, is the *atall day*, wherein the fulnesse of victory doth laureate the temples of the conquering with a wreath of glory; but it layeth the honour of the conquered in the dust: And be he never so great, he is at the pleasure and service of his triumphing enemy. How wise and carefull then should Generalls be in

*Præliorum
delicta emendationem non
patiantur.
Veget. lib. 1*

*cap. 14.
Non licet
in bello bis
delinquere
apud Plu-
tarch.
Nulla est
negligentia
denia ubi de
salute certa-
tur. lib. 3.
cap. 5.*

committing fight: and how courageous and resolute in the fight it selfe?

The disposition of the souldier.

There be many remarkable cautions that should accompany the good advice of fight. First the very day of fight; the disposition, or indisposition of the souldier to fight is much to be regarded, which may be gathered by their words, countenance and carriage. A second thing to be looked to, is the avoyding of temeritie: a little of this, like a *Coloquintida* marreth all the rest. Fresh men at Armes may out of their hot blood haue a great mind to fight; because they know not what it is to fight, nor what lyeth upon it. *A man that neuer sayled thinketh it a sport to be at sea: because he neuer felt a storme.* *Pericles* being pressed by his souldiers to fight, and that with vile reprochfull termes, replied thus; *that if he could repayre losse, and recover life, he would as gladly adventure as they: but you see (saith he) Trees being cut, grow againe, but men once slaine revive no more.*

Avoyding of temeritie.

Temeritas in bello ante omnia vitanda. Nihil in bello oportet contemni.

The disposition therefore of the souldier is not enough except other things concur. It is here as it is in *Physicke* *e sic to erre, but the least error bringeth great damage.* And therefore it is a good axiome, *that nothing in fight is so much to be avoided as temeritie.* The rashnes of *Vladislaus* that yong King of *Hungarie*, lost him his crowne and his life. It is a good precept, *the least disadvantage in war is not to be contemned.* Contempt of the enemy, and confidence in force, maketh many reckon twice, and sit downe by the losse. Instance this in King *John* of France, who presuming on his multitude, would admit no conditions from *Edward* the blacke Prince, but fight: who with a few wearyed forces driven to a strait, gathered courage from dispaire, and gaue the French such a foyle, both in their honour and forces, that they blame themselves much in this, *that they had no more wit.* *Agiselaus* that worthy Captaine, was wiser, in not adventuring on *Chabrias* the *Athenian* Captaine against advantage of the ground, giving this reason, *that courage, opportunity*

unity of place and necessitie are the wings of victory. A wise feare of such is no cowardize, but rather a good temper of resolution. Aristotle calleth this discreet feare, the right hand of *δεξιαν της* counsell. Incogitancie (saith one) begetteth temeritie, but considera- *βουλης* tion breedeth a wise or cunctatorie fear. It is a pretty Adagie; the mother of the fearfull seldome cryeth. Augustus compareth them well, that cast themselves upon disadvantages & unnessearie dangers, to those that angle with golden hookes. G. Iulius Cesar Polian lib. 8 dictator, who had no fewer then fiftie times bin in fight with the enemy, & in this, unparalled by any of the Romas, learned this in the end as his master-peece, to be very wary with whom, how, and on what termes to fight. In this particular, as in many other, wee may worthily admire his Excellencie indeed the Prince of Orange, who by age, industrie and experience, hath learned to play the Fabius, as well as the Marcellus; he hath got much honour to himselfe, and good and glory to the State, by the use of that Motto, that Augustus gaue to his Capitaines; *make hast deliberately*. There was never man more desirous of fight, then that wise politick Emperour, & great Commander Trajan; yet in this he did so temper himselfe, that he would rather breake his enemies with delay, then unadvisably, or unnecessarily, adventure his owne.

Thirdly, a considerate Generall must not fight at the pleasure of the enemy, but at his owne best opportunitie: none will draw out their enemy to fight but upon some assured advantage. That vexed Hannibal, that he had more a doe to get Fabius to fight then to overcome other Romane Generalls in fight: and therefore he sayd he feared Fabius more detrac- ting fight, then he did Marcellus, though a great Warriour, in fight. To this point, that speech of Gaius Marius fitteth very well: who being importuned by his adversary, Theutonius to fight, answered him thus; *if he were weary of his life, there were wayes enough to rid him of it.*

Fourthly, as he must avoide temeritie and not serve the enemies desire; so he must not omit opportunity: by this

Festina lento.
Dion. Niseph.
Xiphilin.
in eius vita.

Not to fight at the adversaries pleasure.

Front. lib. 4 cap. 7.

Omit not opportu- nities.

I have formerly shewed how great things have been done, and how the greatest Commanders have attributed much to this.

Application

No more I say of it, but the neglect or losse of this, giveth us all just cause to lament: for had battle been given to *Spynola* approaching the Palatinate, when opportunity was afforded, it may be the Sanctuary of the Lord had not been possessed by the enimie: yea, by all likelyhood, all the outrage committed might have been prevented; all the blood saved, and all the country preserved; *but where the fault lay, there I leave it.*

The necessity of exhortation.

Et manu & lingua promptus.

I come to the fifth thing very necessary in fight, that is, an exhortatory oration from the mouth of the Generall, that *they quit themselves like men.* It is fit that the Generall have the faculty of *incouragement*, as well as of *commandment*. *Cesar* was excellent at this; for he was a man both with *tongue* and *hand* amongst many. Of other instances, none sheweth more cunning then this, that being to fight against *Ariovistus*, and the Germanes, the hearts of his souldiers, through the forces and fiercenesse of the enemy, began to fayle them; and amongst them all the tenth legion especially, which *Cesar*, very cunningly fell to commend in his oration, and told the rest, *that he would use none but that legion*: Which speech so affected them, that being partly ashamed of their former fear, and partly ambitious to make good his seeming conceit; that no service seemed too hard for them: and the rest being emulous of their commendation, did strive to deserue it as well as they. Thus by experience *Cesar* made good the prooffe of his own position: *That a good speech prevaileth sometimes more then money.*

Frontin. li. 1. cap. 11. numb. 3.

Oratio sepe plus valet, quam pecunia. Commandment.

The motives of an exhortatory oration.

The motives whereby Generals may perswade are these, and the like; as first, from the goodnesse of the cause; for every one (at least) pretendeth a good cause, as you may see in all the speeches of this nature. From this *Ioab* did inforce valour

Valour upon his souldiers: *Be of good courage (saith he) and let us play the men, for our people, and for the Cities of our God.* 2 Sam. 10. 12.
 Of which one saith very well, *That though he was no good man; yet no speech could be worthier of a great Captain.* Non potuit
 vox duce
 dignior co-
 gitari.
 Pellic.
 Secondly, they perswade from the valour of the enemy, and sometimes from the weaknesse of the enemy: to overcome the former, it is exceeding great glory; and to haue the other to fight with, assureth victory. Thirdly, from the preservation of them and theirs; for goods, liberty, wiues and children; life, honour, and religion it selfe lyeth upon it. When the Romanes were to fight, they brought all the prey, the salary and richest substance that the souldiers had, and laid it bound in fardells hard by the colours, that thereby they might be whetted on to fight. The Persians bring their wiues and preciousst things into the field; and so doth the Spanyard the richest things he hath. Pro aris &
 focus pug-
 natur.

Fourthly, they moue with hope of glory, and promise of reward. *Feare and punishment* are the bonds of Camp Discipline; but the souldiers must be carryed on to the battle, on the wings of *hope and reward.* Alex. ab
 Alex.
 lib. 4. c. 2.

Fifthly, it is no small motiue to obserue the impossibility to escape the enemy (if they should flye) through the nature of the place wherein they fight. *Myronides* the Athenian Generall, leading his souldiers against the Thebans, brought them into a fair large field, where they were to fight; where he caused them all to lay down their Armes, & view the place all round about. *You see my souldiers (said he) what a large field is heer, and our enemies are brauely mounted on swift horses; therefore if we flee there is no possibility to escape; but if we stand to it, there is good hope of victory.* Vpon which speech they put on resolution to stand it out to a man, and did second the same with such courage, that they carryed the day, and had a great victory, which they followed to *Phocis* and *Locris.* Polyan. l. 1.

The last motiue, and that of no small force, is taken from
 C c 3 the

the cruelty and inhumane condition of the enemy with whom they are to fight. If men fight against such as are worse then Beares and Lyons, that are never satisfied with blood; such as the brood of Gog and Magog, Turkes and Papists, whose very mercies are cruelties; Were it not better to die upon the sharp, with honour in the field, then to be reserved for a while unto some cruell torment, intollerable sorrow, and disgracefull reproach? *Epaminondas*, Generall of the Thebans, being to fight with the *Lacedemonians*, that he might not onely strengthen his souldiers, but also sharpen their indignation against their enemies, delivered in his Oration, that it was the determination of the *Lacedemonians*, if they overcame, to kill all the Males of the Thebans, man and mothers sonne, and further to make slaues and captiues of their wiues and daughters, and last of all to equall Thebes with the ground. This did so inflame the Thebans against the *Lacedemonians*, that at the very first shock they overcame them.

Applica-
tion.

Doth not the belluine rage and cruelty, executed upon the Germanes and Bohemians, by woefull experience tell us, what mercilesse and inhumane enemies we contend with; namely, the bratts of the bloody whore. The ripping up of women, the shamefull abusing of them, not to be named, the torturing of men with new devised torments; the bathing in the blood of inoffensive children; the cruel murdering of Gods Ministers, (who by the lawes of God and Nations, haue alwaies been sacred.) In a word, their unparalleled immanity, aboue *Turkes* or *Barbarians*, would put life in a man to fight to the last gaspe, rather then to liue and see, the least part of these horrible indignities. To passe by the Spaniards outrage upon the Indian and Hollander (whose resolution and valour, ariseth out of the Spanish cruelty and perfidie) cast but your eye upon the Spanish provision for 88, and you may see how like the base bramble *Abimelech*, they were determined to burn up the inhabitants; and as the

scour-

scourges of Gods wrath, to whip us to death with tormenting scorpions; as if they would haue made the torments of the English a terrour to all nations. But by you, my Lords and people of the Vnited Provinces, let this particular be observed in your encounter with the Spanyard. I know the monuments of the more then Saracen cruelties remains with you; you haue pictures in your houses, and draughts drawn in the tables of your hearts: Yet let this sharpen your resolution to fight it out to the death; that if ever the black brood be masters, you shall haue the blackest day that ever men had. If *Radamanthus* and *Minos* were come out of hell to torment, they could not exercise more cruelty then they would, upon you and yours; yea, as they would make you a spectacle to all the world, so they would send you, bodies and soules to hell, if they could. As *Hanibal* therefore was a sworn enemy to the Romans in his childhood; so teach your youth, rather to die, then to live at the mercy of the Spaniard: But, withall, fit your selues, and yours for death, better then you doe; and then let fire or water haue the land, and all that you haue: yea, if I may so say, and make it good in dispute, let the devill haue it (as he had all *Iobs* substance) rather then the Spanyard haue it, who is a devill incarnate.

As the bloody disposition of so devilish an enemy, should put you on to fight it out to the very last pinch; so should it likewise terrifie you from any terms of peace, which if once you intertain, you are caught in the trap. The Spanyard is like the Irish, who under a perfidious peace doth his adversary more mischief then in open war. Your charge and paines in peace shall be never a whit lesser (for I am sure you dare not trust them) your damage and danger shall be greater. For who ever gained by peace with the Spanyard, England excepted, who hath of late gained repentance, I wish they be not too late in bringing forth the fruits of it. But to speake of this, though I cannot speake enough, I shall
be

be further occasioned; onely I will shut it up for the present, with shewing what I thinke of that distressed people of Bohemia and the Palatinate, under the yoke of the enemy. If they had expected such barbarous cruelties, they would all haue dyed upon the point of the pike, or edge of the sword, rather then to haue trusted themselves in the hands of such men of *blonds*. But to conclude this point, all and every one of these meanes hath often prevailed; in so much that Generals had need to be well versed in this faculty, to which *Vegetius* doth not unworthily attribute very much; *If exercised souldiers (saith he) doe fear to fight, the exhortative power of the Generals oration, will rouse up their strength, and kindle their courage.*

A doubt.

*De fuga
maius quā
de conflictu
cogitat.
Veget. lib. 3
cap. 10.*

But here ariseth a doubt not unworthy the answering. What if the heart of the souldier be so sunck, and his courage so quailed, that words are but wind with him, his fear hath made him deafe, and he minds nothing but taking of *himselfe to his heeles?*

I answer, as the Noble Generall in this case is in a great strait; so some haue forced their souldiers to fight. For this we haue many examples of note, both in the most expert Grecian and Roman Generals, whereof I will observe but two or three. *Themistocles*, and the Grecians having their Navie at Salamis, they fearing the enemy, would needs flye with their ships, for all that *Themistocles* could doe or say to the contrary: he seeing this, sendeth *Sicinus* his sonnes Tutor to the King, and telleth him (in shew of good will) that the Grecians were about to flye, therefore it should be his best, with his whole Navie to come and charge them: To this the King did hearken willingly, and bringeth all his sea forces into the narrow sea, where he cooped up the Athenians ere they were aware, where they were forced to fight, yet with great advantage: and so *nil they would they, by the dexterous policy of a witty Captaine, they had the victory.* Where observe by the way, that to fight at the enemies instigation

fligation or counsell, is no sure nor safe course. Another instance in *Fabius Maximus*, arriving at the same place, and being to fight with the enemy, setteth all the ships on fire, that no place of refuge should remaine for flyers. The like did Generall *Vere*, at the battle of Newport, in sending away the ships that attended them. *Timarchus Aetolus* did the like. *Clitarchus* chooseth rather to fight the enemy, then to be blocked up in the Citie, draweth out his forces, and lest they should recoyle back again from the fight, he caused the gates to be shut, and the keyes to be laid up on the top of the walles, which he shewed to the Souldiers; admonishing them thereby that there was no refuge left, but for fight; who making a vertue of necessity, fell resolutely upon the enemy, and carryed away the victory. The like of this did *Charles Martil* against *Abdiramus* the Saracen; knowing that the valour of his souldiers would countervaille the multitude of the enemy, he preventeth all refuge for flight, by setting of the Camp on fire, and shutting of the gates of Turon, so that there was no way but even to fight it out.

Front. lib. 1
cap. 9.
Polyan. l. 3.

Agnat. l. 2.
cap. 2.

Yet for all these examples, in my simple opinion, this will not alwaies be safe, but onely where there is fortitude and experience in the souldier; yet overdaunted and quashed with the feare of the enemy, being overmatched in multitude, or some other oddes: But where insufficiency concurreth with feare, to force such to fight, were but to stop a ditch with Cowards, to flesh the enemy, and to spoile a good Commander.

The sixth main thing to be observed for the ioyning of battle, is this; not to be daunted with inequality of number, if necessitie inforce the fight; (I say if necessitie inforce it) for otherwise to adventure upon great inequality, without some odds, to countervaille the number, were not the part of a wise Commander: but if he be put to it upon this odds, I may boldly use that speech to him, being such as he should

Incorage-
ment a-
gainst in-
equality
of num-
ber.

Iosu. 1.

1. Sam. 14.

6.

Sape nu-
mero pau-
ciores sub
bonis duci-
bus re-
portaverunt
victoriam.
lib. 3. cap. 9

Emilius
Probus.
Plutarch.
Florus.

be, that God often useth to his Generalls; *Feare not be, strong and couragious, &c.* The reason of this particular may be taken from that speech of *Jonathan*, *there is no restraint with God to overcome with many or with few.* Which speech, as it is an infallible truth, so it is full of encouragement: for though God prescribe meanes; yet he is not tyed to meanes; for he worketh about meanes, & without meanes, and against meanes. Besides the instances of prooffe for this point from the word (which some may thinke to be extraordinary) there is plentie of examples in militarie treatises, humane histories. *Vegetius* hath the position it selfe, *that often, the fewer in number under good Commanders, doe carry the victory.* The Commenter giveth instances in *Datames*, who never fought but with the fewer number; yet by his wise carriage, & using of his best opportunitie had ever the better. *Sertorius* with a handfull, got admirable victories over *Marcellus*, & other Romans, with great armies. Admirable was that victory that *Charles Martill*, great Master of France, & father to King *Pippin*, had over the *Saracens*, in the battel of *Tours*, where *Abdiramas* encountred him with 400000 *Saracens*: but with a number for inferiour, yet with a handfull in respect of them, he did not onely foyle the *Saracens*, but made the hugest slaughter, of any that wee read of, to wit, he slew 370000. One instance more of no lesse wonder, if wee marke all the passages of it; in the battel of *Poituiers*, where *Edward* the Blacke Prince with a handfull of weareyd souldiers, not passing 8000, overcame King *John* with an army of 40000; of which besides the nobles, 10000 were slaine, King *John* & *Philip* his sonne taken prisoner, with 70 Earles, 50 Barons, & 12000 Gentlemen: so that they both slew more, and tooke more, then themselves were in number: likewise at the battel of *Cressy*, the English where but 1180; yet they overcame the French being in number 70000; of which besides, *John* King of *Bohemia*, 11 Princes, 80 Barons, 120, Knights, there were slaine 30000 common souldiers.

Application

So that you see it is not the multitude of our foes that haue

Have prevayled against us: For if they had covered the face of the earth like grasshoppers, the Lord could have swept them away. But as wee shall heare hereafter, wee have provoked him to strengthen their hands against us; he goeth not forth with us, because we goe not out & in with him: the Lord is not with us, but hath left us and forfaken us: because wee haue left & forfaken him. *Why doe wee not prosper in any thing whither soever wee goe as Iosuah did?* euen because wee doe not as Iosuah did. Wee walke not according to all the law of God, which he hath commanded; and yet for all this, if we would turne to the Lord, wee need not to feare the increase of their forces. It is true, that they doe increase, and must once make a head, & that in great number; for as the great Whore sitteth upon many waters; that is, as the spirit expoundeth to be, *the inhabitants & Kings of the earth*; so the three unclean spirits come out of the mouth of the *Dragon*, of the *beast*, & of the *false Prophet*, to gather the Kings of the earth, & of the whole world to the battle of *Harmagiddon*; & that they may the more prevaile, they come with lying miracles in iudgment, to those whom they doe deceive. You see their number must be great, for they must be many Kings; yea of the whole world in account, there must needs be many people, to maintayne the totting Kingdom of the devill, whē it is euen at the downefull. Yet, for all these hands, they shall haue enough to doe. The Angell that powreth out the seventh violl saith, *it is done*; yea the cup of the wine of the fiercenes of Gods wrath, shall be giue her by the hand of Gods litle stocke. The multitude shall neyther maintayne her, nor themselves, but all shall perish together.

Rev. 16.

Avoide superstition.

The seventh thing to be looked to is, that superstition be avoyded; whereunto, as corrupt nature is very subject, so most of all in extremitie. *A superstitious man* (as Plutarck well observeth) *feareth every thing, except that which he should feare.*

In Moral.

Four e speciall wayes doe men in this particular commit superstition, by consulting with *sozcerers*, or *southsayers*; by taking some casualties as ominous; by observing of dayes; and

How many waies superstition is committed.

Front. lib. 1
Cap. 11.

Mal' alch obb
1. Sam. 28.

Luc. lib. 6.

by seeking to Idols. To the first, *Gaius Marius* had a Witch out of *Scythia* with whom he alwaies consulted of the event of warr, before he undertooke it. Did not *Saul* in the like case seeke to the Witch at *Endor*? *They who forsake God, and whom God hath forsaken, may run to the devil for counsell*; for that is all their refuge: yea when men take that course it is a shrewd evidence that they are forsaken of God. As he would not answere God with any kindly obedience; so God would not answere him by any manner of manifestation; not by a dreame: for he had no temper of the spirit; not by the *Vrime* or Priest; for he had killed the faithfull ones; and so in his greatest necessitie, he wanted the comfort of them; not by a Prophet: for he despised the spirit, he runneth therefore to the devills dame (for so the word doth signifie) or the mother of a familiar, and she must tell him what shall be the event of the battel. When God leaveth men to themselves, they know not what to doe, all his wit and policie, and all the cunning of his courtiers could not helpe him out with this lurch. This, amongst the rest, made way for *Pompeys* overthrow: for he consulted with a woeman of *Thessaly*, who brought him a souldier as he thought from the dead, declaring to him the bad successe of the *Pharsalian* battel. *Julian* after his apostacie, betooke him wholly to Sorcerers and Conjurers. *Richard* the third, made this a speciall part of his counsel. *James* the third of *Scotland*, was much corrupted with this kind of vermin; and so much was the more pittie, for he was a Prince of excellent parts; but he plagued himselfe with two sorts of euill beasts, namely, *superstitious figure-singers*, and *cater-piller favorits*, whereby he brought desolation upon the land, and himselfe to an untimely end. Considering Gods hatred against the sin, and the euill end of all such as haue taken this course, it is a wonder, especially that men illuminated should looke this way: but whom God will destroy he giueth them up to corruption of judgement and madnesse of mind (as *Austin* well observeth of *Saul*)
being

being become a reprobate he could not haue a good understanding.

*Mox repro-
bus factus,
non potuit
habere bonū
intellectum.*

As for the Papists conjuring and consultation, it is a main part of their Leiturgie. Yea, they haue one tricke more of this kind, namely, to giue Amulets to souldiers going to fight, whereby they assure them of securitie from all hurt. A worthy Historiam giueth an instance of this. The French under the conduct of *Charles Alobroge*, going against *Geneua*, in the yeare of our Lord 1502 had Amulets from their charming fathers to hang about their necks, wherein were ingrauen crosses with the beginning of *S. Iohns Gospell*, the name of *Mary, Iesus*, of the *Trinitie*, with many odd Characters & inscriptions; promising to all those that should wear them, that they should not perish that day by earth, water nor the sword. But the devill was cunning enough to cozen thē: for though they escaped those particulars, yet they perished another way: In the night their Characters were taken from them, & they were strangled and blowne in the ayre. Iesuits know it is foule play to wear amulets in fight, and against the lawes of Armes, and yet they will be doing. Let such as loue soule or life, beware of these; for such things haue neyther *hid force*, nor *elementary qualitie* to saue or preserve. *Austin* of such, hath a very good speech, with a counsell subioyned; *Mary* (saith he) being driven to a strait, seeke helpe of the devill in the persons of Charmers or Enchaunters, and in the supposed force of Amulets: What is this but to goe to our invisible enemies, who kill the soule perswading us that there is no helpe with God? The eares of such (saith he) are shut at the voice of God, saying, the Lord is my salvation: but let us (saith the father) inquire of God, and not of any other: for our deliverance is of God howsoever he worke it by lawfull secundary meanes, which wee may use: but all the meanes of charming, wee must hate as the devill from whence they are.

*Salustius
Pharamum;
dus de ad-
ventu Alo-
brogum in
Genevam.*

*In Psalm
34.*

The second thing to be avoided, is an ominous construction of casualties. When *Scipio* transported his souldiers out of *Italie* unto *Africa*, as he went a shore, his foot slip, and he

erit tolli
culat und
twine non
mud tedi
mud tedi

fell on his face (whereat his souldiers being astonished, conceiving it as a token of evill successe,) *Scipio* with a brave courage making a better construction; *Goe sport your selves* (said he) *my souldiers, for I have already taken possession of Africa.* It is fit for avoyding this, that a wise Generall be seen in some measure in the causes of naturall things, which seeming to the ignorant prodigious, they may therein give them satisfaction. *Lucius Sulpicius Gallus*, foretold to his souldiers the *Eclipse of the Moon*, and the causes of the said Eclipse, that they might not be dismayed at it, through the ignorance of the cause. *Pericles* going to war, as he went aboard of his ship, the Sun was eclipsed, at the darknesse of which eclipse the Master of the ship was exceedingly astonished, taking it for some ominous or prodigious thing; but the General cast his cloake over the Masters face, and asked him if there were any matter of terrour in that; who answered no. No more in the other, said the General, *but that the cause is not so well known.* If Heathens were thus wise, is it not a shame for Christians to startle at the signes of heaven, or at the casuall occurrences of accidents below? Let Gods command, medcine this shie disposition (which is worse then heathenish in the Lords account.) *Be not dismayed at the signes of heaven, for the Heathens are dismayed at them.*

Jer. 10. 2,

Maior ce-
litum po-
pulus, quā
hominum.
lib. 2. cap. 7.

The third thing is seeking to idols or false Gods; so did all the Heathen: and new Rome is not one whit short of old Rome in this. Yea, as *Plinie* saith of the one, so I may say of the other; *that the number of their gods, exceedeth the number of the Papists.* And as another saith well; they are *Lapideus populus*, a people made of stocks and stones: to Saint *George*, and to such they goe for successe in battell.

The last is difference of daies, as some daies they hold good to fight on, and some bad; as though the Lord, had made one day good and another bad. This superstitious differencing of daies, the other Rome held both in position and practise. They were called *Fighting-daies*, *saith* one,

one, wherein it was lawfull to fight with the enemy; for there were some feriall daies, wherein it was not lawfull to fight. Of these irreligious daies, and of their strictnesse in this point, *Cato* maketh "mention in his commentary upon the Civill Law. In those daies (saith he) they did not levy men, nor joine battell, nor sit in iudgement. The Macedonians abstained from fight, all the moneth of June. The Germans held it unfortunate to fight in the beginning of the new Moon, or in the full of the Moone. It is observed of the Jewes, that they neglecting to defend themselves on the Sabbath, *Pompey* took Ierusalem. *Lucullus* the Roman Captain, considered better of the matter, who being to fight upon the eighth day of October against *Tigranes*, was by some of the company dissuaded from it; because *Scipio*, as on that day had had a great defeat: Let us (saith he) therefore fight the more stoutly, that we may make to the Romanes, a good day of an evil. *Ioshua* and *Israel* compassed Iericho seven daies, and on the last day took it, which was the Saboath of the Lord. One perswading a Generall not to fight, upon some ominous conceit taken of the day; I hold it (saith he) the best kind of divination to fight stoutly for my Country. To obserue daies, or months, and times, standeth not with Christian liberty. It is charged upon the King of Bohemia, when Prague was taken, that he would not fight on the Lords day; but it is one of the lightest aspersions put upon him by his calumnious enemies. If he had fought and carryed the day, they would have put his fighting as an imputation upon his profession, for fighting upon the Saboath.

As fighting hereon, and all other works should be avoyded, as much as may be: (though the *Papist* (as one saith) pestereth the week with idoll-holydaies, and heathenishly maketh lesse reckoning of this then of the least of his devised holydaies:) yet if necessity command, either to assault or defend, the day is made for man, and not the man for the day. That restriction which the Heathens held concerning their daies,

Præliatus dies appellatur, quibus fas est hostem bello laceſcere: erant enim quedam ferie publicæ, quibus nefas fuit id facere.
"Festus, Tacit. Dio. in Pompo.

Plat. Rom. Apoth.

Ios 6.

Optimum augurium est, pro patria fortiter pugnare

Cato in Cō-
ment. de ju-
re civili.

daies, agreeth very well to the Lords day. *Si ultima necessitas suadeat administretur*; that is; if *necessitie* inforce to fight, we may.

Valer. Max.
lib. 1. cap. 1.

Let Gods people therefore, both in peace and warre beware of Romes superstition. It is said that old Rome had their superstition from the *Hetruscians*, whether they sent every year, six of the Patricians sonns to learn the rites of religion: but all Nations now haue their superstition from new Rome, which is become the Mistresse of *Whorish inventions*; and whether our Romanists send their young *Cobbes*, to learn their *postures* and *motions*. Of her, whose ever borroweth for *garnishing*, or rather for *gaudifying* of the worship of God, may justly feare, to the woe of their soules, that they pay as deer for it, as Israel did for the *golden Calf*. The Altar of Damascus, provoked the Lord to forsake his Altar, wherein *Achaz* presumed of safety (*oh! Cimmerian blindnesse and fearfull apostasie!*) but it proved contrary for it was the ruin of him, and of all Israel; according to the word, it was the *break-neck* of them; or as some translate not unfitly, *it plagued him and all Israel*. Was the Apostle

2 Chron.
28. 23.

Gal. 1. 4. 10

in fear of the Galatians, because they kept *daies and moneths*. And may not we feare and tremble, who haue not onely their *dismall hollow daies* (mince them as you will) but a great deale more of the *devils dirt*, wherewith, as with a garment spotted with the flesh, the garment of Christ is fearfully defiled? The strange *Armes*, or colours of the enemy in the field or Cittie, are ominous indeed: for by them the walls haue been scaled, and the forces slain and routed, without so much as a blow given in defence; even so, doe not the *Armes* of the Beast, and the colours of the Whore, set up check by joull with Gods colours in his House, and amongst his Armies in the field, presage some fearfull plague approaching especially to those that are a sleep; our *Laodicean conceits* shall be so far from sheltering us, that thereby we provoke God, that he can beare no longer, but that he must needs

as out of his mouth; which, if he doe, it is to be feared we are
such a leathsome thing, that he will never take us up againe; but
make a new people to himselfe.

Wherefore, in the first place, Awake you *Angels* and
Watchmen indeed upon the Walls, whom I charge, as you
will answer before God your Master, that you will cast
away the *inverse Trumpets* of *Furius Fulvus*, which soun-
ded a *retrait*, when they should haue sounded an *Alarm*,
With the Prophet *Isay*, proclaime the iniquity of those
things, which pestereth Gods worship, and run so many
upon the rocks of separation. Are they not the *coverings* *Isa. 30.22.*
of *Idols*, or *Idols themselves*? Shew the people how they
should loath them, and account them as a *menstruous clout*;
and that they should hold them unworthy of presence, &
should say unto them, *get you hence*. Let them plead for
Baal that are of Baal. Hold never that to be clean in
Gods worship, that the Pope, or Pagan hath once pollu-
ted, being mans invention. No, it is impossible that it
should be cleansed. With the sound of the Trumpet,
awake the *Kings Maiesty*, awake the *Prince*, the *Parliament*,
the *Councell*, the *Nobles*, *Gentry*, and *Commons*, that we may
meet our God in sackcloth and ashes: for great is the con-
troversie that he hath with us all. You are the *Physitians*,
content not your selues with the bare *theoricke*, or *generall*
rules, but apply your rules, and pick out *particular me-*
dicines, for *particular diseases*, in *particular subjects*; for
Chronical, *pandemical*, or *Epidemical diseases*. Haue your
specificke rules and receits, discover the darke day, and the
devouring people, wherewith wee are threatned; the
day of the Lord is great and very terrible, who can *70:12, v.2.*
abide it? *3.11.*

As for your Majestie, on the knees of my soule, with all
humble duety, I doe intreat you, as you haue begun
in the *spirit*, you would not end in the *flesh*: but
that you would beat down that *Altar of Damascus*, bray the

"the golden Calfe to powder, crush the brazen Serpent to
 "peeces, and break off those bonds of superstition: Ease
 "Sion of her burthen, under which she groaneth; help
 "not those that hate God; and hate not those that loue
 "God. Let not God be robbed of his Sabboath, nor his
 "name be torn in peeces by bloudy oathes; for these, and
 "the like, are like to make *your Dominions mourne*. Yea, if
 "your Highnesse loue the Lord, your soule, your life, your
 "Crown, your people, look to it: *Egipt is deceitfull; Nilus*
 "*is ranke poyson*; mixture of his worship is a *mockery*, and no
 "worship; and God hath said he *He will not be mocked*. For the
 "Lords sake down with *Balaam*, Balaamites, and all their
 "pedlery ware; giue the Lord all or nothing, for he is a jea-
 "lous God. In a word, *Dread Soberaigne*, remember I be-
 "seech you, by how many mercies God hath ingaged you
 "to be zealous of his house; and that of all sins, he cannot
 "endure back-sliding.

As for you *Gracious Prince*: If you desire to present your
 "selfe to God, as a member of his unspotted Spouse in
 "Christ, *be not unequally yoked*; away with that Lincie-
 "wollic Match: (with reverence be it spoken) it is a
 "beastly, greasie, and a lowlic-wearing, unbecoming your
 "Grace. Scripture will apologic my termes, which speak-
 "ing of spirituall whoredome, giveth it alwaies the vilest
 "termes. Then good Sir, curtall Baals Messengers by the
 "middle to their shame: Cast out of Gods house all the garish
 "attire of the Whore, and bring not an *Ashlah* (what
 "soever she be) into your bosome; who will adorn *Balaams*
 "house with the riches of your God. Let it never enter into
 "your Princely heart, that Dagon and the Ark can stand to-
 "gether; for Christ and *Belial* hath no communion. Let no pro-
 "fane person, nor Popishly affected, like briars and bram-
 "bles, pester your house, nor choake both life and practice
 "of *holy duties* in you. Keep good and plain dealing *Physi-*
 "cians for your soule, *cheare the hearts* of Gods people
 with

"with the loue of your countenance; and in so doing you may bee assured, the Lord will make you a sure house.

And you *right Honourable, and most Worthy*, of the High Court of Parliament, together with his Majesties Councell, Use the counsell of a great King to his councell: He would alwaies haue them to leaue two things without; *Simulation, and dissimulation*: be either, first for God, and the reforming of his house, or otherwise you can bring no honour to your selues, nor good to your Country.

You illustrious Princes, Nobles and Favorites of the King; serue not the times, nor your own turnes, with the neglect, or opposition of Gods cause; *withdraw not your neckes from the work of the Lord*, with the Tekoites, nor break not the yoke of Gods obedience, by impiety, profanenesse and superstition; as those Princes did, in whom *Jeremiah* sought some good, but found none: be not like those Princes of Iuda, that with their false flatteries, fained curtesies, and fleshly reasons, made *Iaash* cast down all with his heele that he had set up with his hand; but let *Nehemiah* his care, *Daniels* zeale, the three Childrens resolution, *Gideons* valour, and *Obadias* loue, possesse your soules, for the purity of Gods worship, with a loathing hatred of all superstition.

And to you *great Prelates, or sprightfull Lords*; the very hearth that keeps in the fire of all this superstition, and the Ensigne staffe that fixeth those strange colours in our Camp. (If I could perswade you) let your train fall. Away with the little beast with the two hornes: Rob not the Nobility and Magistracie of their Titles and places, no more then they should usurp the office of the Ministerie: Lord it not over the Stewards of Gods house, and let not him finde you beating his servants, when hee calls you to a reckoning; in a word, lest *Passer* his case proue

"yours, if danger come. *Let Christ raign in his Ordinan-*
ces, and let that maxime once be made good, in a good
 "sense, *no ceremony, no Bishop.*

Lastly, to you people, which be of two sorts, carnall, and
 "called of the Lord: to the former, *Thinke not the ro-*
 "ten walls of your profanenesse, or meer *Civilisme,* shall
 "still be daubed over with the stinking mortar of *Romish*
 "superstition, the durt whereof you cast in the faces of
 "Gods faithfull Ministers, if they touch your galled sores:
 "away with those fig-leaves and leproous clouts, and let the
 "Word haue its course with you. To you the latter sort, that
 "with some lazie wishes are content *to haue it so* (as the
 "Prophet speaketh) giue me leav out of my very loue to tell
 "you, *that Isachar his caraiage, or bowing down,* like an Ass be-
 "tween two burthens, will not serue, *but you must haue the*
 "garment spotted with the flesh, and say to the Idols, *Get you*
 "hence *what haue we to doe with you?*

Lastly, to conclude the point, to you all, I say again from
 "the highest to the lowest (with my ducty to all in lawfull
 "place reserved) if admonition will not work, let *terror of*
Leuit. 10. "iudgement prevaile; the strange fire in Gods worship was
 "punished with the fire of Gods wrath from heaven. God
 "proportions iudgement to the sin; we haue ever kept in,
 "and pleaded for the excommunicate thing, for the which
 "the Lord may plague us: we haue like fooles reserved the
 "feedricks of superstition, & therefore the Lord is like to giue
Hos. 8. 11. "us enough of it; *We haue made many Altars to sin, and they*
 "*may be unto us for sin;* let King and Prince, and Nobles, and
 "Ministers, and people look to it. King *Amasiah* setting up
2 Chron. 25 "the gods of Seir, *by the God of Israel,* caused the wrath of the
14. &c. "Lord to be kindled against him, which never slaked till it
 "consumed him: for he ran from one evill to another, while
 "his own conspired against him and slew him. *Shebnah,* that
 "great & rich *Treasurer,* who was hewing out his Sepulcher,
 "and scorned the Lords call to humiliation; for idolatry and
 other

other sinns, he is tossed by the Lord like a ball in a strange
 Countrey, where he dyeth; so that the chariot of his glory
 becometh the shame of his Lords house. If Diotrephes will
 not leane his Lording it over Gods house, and beating his ser-
 vants, till he cast them out of their own houses and Gods
 house, forbidding others to receiv them; Will not the Lord
 remember their deeds? If the luke-warme Angell, with
 people of this loathsome quality, will not grow zealous
 and mend, Will not the Lord spue them both out of his
 mouth? In a word, if we doe not as one man humble our
 selues, for partaking with Idols, and suffering of Idols, and eve-
 ry man in his place put to his hand, to bring Iezabel from
 the window; we may justly feare, that neither peace, nor
 warre, nor Parliament, nor Plantation, nor Traffique shall prof-
 per with us? Yea, to shut up the point; if we will neither
 hearken to counsell nor threatening, we may feare, that
 be made good upon us which the Prophet threatned
 against Amaziah; that God hath determined to destroy us;
 because we haue done euill, and will not hearken to the counsell
 of God. I hope I am no enemy because I tell you the truth;
 the Lord in mercy make us hear the sound of the Trum-
 pet, that we may stand up in the breach and liue.

As all these things aforesaid are duely to be considered;
 so in the eight place followeth, a thing not immateriall
 to be thought on, and very often helpfull to the victory,
 being thought on; namely, that souldiers wearyed with a
 long March, should not immediatly (or if they can) that day
 ioyne battel. Vegetius giveth a reason, by a great March the
 souldier weakeneth his spirits, and loseth his strength. Instance of
 this may begiuen in the Volscians fighting against the Romas;
 after too great a March, & much crying, they ioyned in fight,
 and at the very first encounter were defeated, and abando-
 ned their Campos. Sergius Galba, with his wearyed souldiers,
 set upon the Portugalls, and routed them at the first, and pur-
 suing them unadvisedly with his over wearyed souldiers; the

Esa. 22. 13.

Job. 9.

Rev. 3. 16.

2 Chr. 25. 13

Multum
 virium la-
 bore itine-
 ris pugna-
 turus amit-
 tit. lib. 3.
 cap. 11.
 Livj. lib. 2.

Appianus
de bello
Hispan.

Barbarians, with their recollected forces, returned upon them and slew 7000 Romans, very able souldiers. The neglect of this observation did the Arch-Duke no good at the battle of Newport, who after a long March, as I am informed, gave battle to his adversary and that upon a sandy ground. Had Spinola with an easie march brought his forces fresh before Bergan-up-Soom, & presently given an assault, he had hazarded the taking of the Towne: but with over marching, they were so wearyed and weakened, that *five dayes past*, before they were able to assault, & by this they lost their best opportunity. He laid the blame on Velasco: but it was well he perceiveth.

The neces-
sitie of ser-
vent pray-
er.

The ninth, and the last thing to be remembred, but not the least; yea, the chiefest thing of all, is devout and fervent prayer unto God for the victory. If an eloquent and pithy speech, from the mouth of a natural man prevail much (as I shewed) in provoking them to courage, how much more courageous shall these men be, whose hearts God doth touch, and whose hands God doth strengthen for the day of battel. Now these by prayer are obtayned of God; wirnesse that instance of Moses praying, and, the people of God fighting, *when Moses held up his hand* (that is, was strong in prayer) *then Israel prevailed, and when he let downe his hand, (that is) when his spirit failed, Amalec prevailed.* A man may thinke that Moses should rather have gone into the field being the Lords General, then got him up to the mountaine to pray; but Moses knew well enough what he had to doe; he appoints a man sufficient for the place; he knew wherein the strength of Israel lay, namely, in their God, and what would most prevaile with God, namely, fervent prayer. One good man praying is worth an Army of men fighting; and therefore Moses the man of God guided by the spirit, tooke this as the best course for obtayning of the victory. *The prayer of the righteous (saith S. James) avayleth much if it be fervent.* This is the key that openeth heaven, and the steps of the ladder, whereby we ascend: This maketh the Lord to bow the heavens

Deo. 17. 1.

James. 5. 16.

and come downe: By this wee wraſtle with God that he may giue us ſtrength to wraſtle with the enemy: This ſtrengtheneth the feeble knees, and hanging downe hands, of thoſe that fight Gods battels: Finally, this blunteth the forces of the enemy, and overturneth the horſe and the rider. Origen on that practiſe of Moſes maketh this application; *lift thou up thy hands to heaven, as Moſes did and obey the Apoſtle his precept; pray without intermiſſion: for Gods people did not ſo much fight with hand and weapon, as they did with voyce and prayer.* This time of battle is the very pinch of extremitie; and therefore the beſt opportunitie for prayer.

Eleva & tu manus in celum, &c. Homil. 11. in Exod.

Moſes ioyneth theſe two together in the bleſſing of *Iuda*, *Hear O Lord the voice of Iudah* (or as the *Chaldee* well tranſlateth the prayer of *Iuda*) *when he goeth forth to war.* If wee be commanded to call on the Lord in the day of our trouble; what greater trouble then this when the enemy is ready to devour us, and to reproch the name of our God? This you may ſee to be the ordinary practiſe of Gods people in the fighting of his battels. *Iudah cryed unto the Lord.* Notable is that prayer of *Aſa*, going againſt the *Ethiopians*, he cryed unto the Lord. *He ſpeaks, O Lord our God, for we reſt on thee, and in thy name wee goe againſt this multitude.* So, that of *Iehoaſaphat*, going againſt the *Ammonites*, is a preſident at large for all Gods people, how to behaue themſelves in this parricular: Firſt, that good King diſcovereth the ſtrayt wherein they were; *wee know not what to doe.* verſ. 12. Secondly, his refuge, *but our eyes are up towards thee,* *ibidem.* Thirdly, his preſſing God with petition, *O Lord our God wilt thou not judge them,* *ibidem.* Fourthly, the arguments whereby he would move God to heare his petition, from the 6 verſ. to the 13. Fiſtly, there is the preparation to this duetie, that it may be the more effectuell, *and Iehoaſaphat feared the Lord, and ſet himſelfe to ſeek the Lord, & proclaymed a faſt through all Iudah.* verſ. 3. I ſhew the ſcantling of the place, the rather, becauſe I know no place in all the booke of God ſiter for this par-

Dent. 33. 7.

*2. Chron. 13.
14.
Chap. 14. 12*

2. Chron. 20

*2. Chron. 32
20. 11. 22.*

poſe.

people. Other instances there be, as that prayer of *Hesekiah*
 against the *Assyrians*. The like course took the Israelites being
 to ioyne battle with the Philistines. So *Jacob* looking for no-
 thing but for battle from his brother, he prepareth himself
 by prayer. So did *Ezra*. I urge the more places, the rather
 because I would inforce the necessitie of the due tie, and ma-
 nifest the good effect of the same, being performed; and
 justly to tax our selues, to our humiliation, for the neglect or
 unlound performance of this due tie. To the first, you may
 see by this cloud of witnesses, how strict Gods people haue
 bene in this due tie. To the second, it is likewise cleare that
 good successe hath followed the due tie, in all the quoted te-
 stimonies. *Ezra* relating how he had commended the cause
 to God, whē they stood in feare of their enemies, sheweth us
Ezra. 8. 23. what was the issue of this their holy practize; So wee fasted
 and besought our God, for this and he was intreated of us.
 And for the last, namely, our neglect, would to God our
 mourning for the sin were as manifest as the sin it selfe: looke but
 on the successe of our battles, that argueth our neglect. God
 is one & the same God, & the cause is likewise Gods: but God
 is not sought unto, he is not importuned. Wee are like to the
 Israelites going against *Beniamin*, who inquired of the Lord
 whether they should goe up against them or no, and what
 tribe should lead them: and hauing their direction in both
 these, they set themselves in order. Heare they make the
 cause sure, and for avoyding contention about the leading,
Judges 20. they haue the bravest Leaders allotted them, and for their
 forces they were eyther enough, or too many; yea of the
 choyce souldiers, and very well ordered: but how sped they?
 But very meanly, as you may see in the text: they were twice
 foyled, and lost to the number of 40000 men. But what was
 wanting heare? I answer, even the selfe same things that
 are wanting in us, *Search of sin, and seeking to God.* Wee doe
 not read in all the text that they did eyther of these, till they
 were beaten to it: And what needed they in their owne
 conceit,

conceir; They had a just cause, and the Lord his owne war-
rant, and braue Commanders, and for multitude they might
haue eaten them up, and why should they goe to God for
the victory? they doubted not of that: but as they looked least
to the matter of greatest waight; so they were plagued in that
which they least feared; to teach them and others to take their
whole errand with them, God gaue them twice into the hand
of their enemies, and then they saw their ouersight, and went
up to the Lord and wept, and fasted, and offered burnt offerings and
peace offerings before the Lord; then by the Lords direction they
went up and prospered. So wee may lay our hands upon
our mouthes in this case, and proclaim our selues to be
faultry: for wee haue presumed much upon a good cause,
and secondary meanes, but wee haue not wrestled with God
for the victory. The Pagans and Papists doe condemne us in
this, who toyle themselues with their idols, babbling out
many blasphemons prayers, and that for the most part, for the
prosperous successe of wicked designs. *Appianus* telleth
us, that before the Romans ioyned bartel they sacrificed to
Andacie and Feare. *Plutarch*, telleth us that the *Lacedemonians*
before the fight sacrificed to the *Muses*. The *Mysians* before they
fought did sacrifice a horse. To what a number of Saints
doe the Papists sacrifice, when they goe to fight; how doe
they ply the idoll of the Masse in which they put their con-
fidence. The *Iesuits* indeed, the Popes bloud-hounds, trust more to
the prey then to their prayers. They much resemble, as one
saith well, the *Vultures*, whose nests (as *Aristotle* saith) cannot
be found; yet they will leave all games to follow an Army:
because they delight to feed upon carryon: neyther will
they be wanting with their prayers (such as they are) for the
successe of the great Cracke, and blacke day (as they call it) wher-
in these harpies thought to haue made but a breakfast of us all; they
erected a new Psalter for the good successe of a wicked coun-
ter parliament, the depth of whose consultation was fiery meteors,
the proiect, whereof, was the rending of mountaines, and tearing of

Vers. 26.

Lib. de bello
punico.Statim anteq-
uam in-
molato equo
concepere
votum.
Florus.

racker, & with an earthquake of fire exhalations to consume and swallow up both hills and valleys, and to increase the iniquitie with wicked *Iesabel*, they would colour it with a fast, and with blasphemous and lying *Rabshakab*, they would beare the world in hand by this their Psalter, *that they came*

1. Reg. 25. *not up against us without the Lord*, and the Lord had bidden them doe it. Their deuelish dittie consisteth of a seven-fold psalmody, which secretly they passed from hand to hand, set with tunes to be sung for the cheering up of their wicked hearts, with an expectation (as they called it) of their day of *Jubilee*. The matter consisteth of rayling upon King *Edward*, and *Elizabeth*, and our Sovereigne that now is, of perdition, imprecation, prophesie and prayse for successe. I will set downe some of these, because the Psalter it selfe is rare, or not to be had. For they are taken up by the Papists, as other books be

Prayer

Psalms 1-

„ that discover their shame. Confirme (say they) the
 „ heart of those thy laborous; endue them with strength
 „ from aboue, and giue successe unto their endeavours.
 „ Embolden our hearts with courage, to concur with
 „ them freely, in the furthering of thy service.

Prophecie

Psal 2.

„ Confirme your hearts with hope, for your redemption is
 „ not far off.
 „ The yeare of visitation draweth to an end, and jubila-
 „ tion is at hand.

„ The memorie of novelties shall perish with a cracke, as a
 „ ruinous house falling to the ground, he will come as a
 „ flame that bursteth out beyond the fornace.

„ His fury shall fly forth as thunder, and pitch on their tops
 „ that maligne him.

Howsoever God in mercie disappointed them, yet by these you may see, as by so many *ignivomus eruptions* of the hell-firy-zeale of *Aetna*, what their diligent endeavour was: for they would be wanting in nothing. The necessitie therefore of the ductie, the good successe of it, the sinister zeale of idolatrie in this point, according to their kind, and the danger of the neg-

lest of it, may provoke us if wee be not void of sense, to see upon the duetic. If idolaters, who by their prayers and sacrifice *bringing nothing but sorrow upon themselves*, doe so bestir themselves; what fooles are wee in slighting off so excellent a duetic wherein the Lord hath promised to be with us; yea, giue me leaue to speake the words of trueth, whereat I would haue none offended, but rather offended with *their owne negligence*, that all that haue had their hand in Gods bat-tels, from the Kings Majestie himselfe, to the meanest souldier, haue bene, and are yet exceeding faultie in this, as their owne hearts (I know) upon examination will tell them; which neglect indeed, to them and us both, doth minister matter of great humiliation. If they doe reply, that prayer hath been made, & God hath been sought to, by themselves and others *for them*. To this I answere, why dorch not God heare them, is his eare deafe, or his hand shortned, or is his good will to his abridged, that he will not, or cannot heare or helpe? No, no, the fault is in our selues, and our prayers, our sinnes haue made a separation betwixt us and God, so that if wee cry and shout, yet (as the Prophet saith) *he shattereth out our prayers.*

Instance.

Answe.

Lament. 3. 8

The lineaments of prayer.

Though it be not my purpose, nor for the place, to handle the common place of prayer; yet for the better discovery of our neglect, and the amendment of it, let me briefly lay downe what things in prayer (if wee would speed by it) should be observed, namely, the matter of it, the person that maketh it, the manner of it, the qualitie of it, and the helpes to sharpen it.

First, for the matter, it must be such as the spirit approveth on; the rule whereof is laid downe in the word. For the person, he must be good, otherwise his prayer is not good, nor can it do any good. *The prayer of the just m^a prevayleth much. If I regard iniquitie in my heart (saith the Prophet) the Lord will not heare me.* And as the blind man in S. Iohn, God heareth not sinners; Moses, Iehoshaphat, Ezechiah & Ezra were all good men;

Ios. 9.

their prayers were of force against their enemies, *The Lord heard them, & gave them the victory. Kings & Commanders should be good themselves, if they would haue any good by their prayers: for God is no respecter of persons; the greater the partie is, if he be not good, the worser is his prayer in the sight of God; yea let them haue some good men of God, to be their mouthes to God.* The people of Israel being ioyned with the Philistins, they say to Samuel, *Cease not to cry to the Lord our God for us, that he will saue us out of the hands of the Philistins.* Where no doubt the people ioyned with him, but he led them in the duetic, and was their mouth. I shewed the necessitie of such before: *the Lord touch your hearts with a desire of such, and stir up such for you.*

Thirdly, the manner of the prayer must be performed, by going along with *the spirit*, who helpeth our infirmities, with sighes and sobs, that cannot be expressed. We must not be like to *Julius* the second in our devotion, who sate by the fire and said over his prayers in the time of the fight. It is not the ringing, nor chanting with the voyce, nor the *Barotoms* lowing of a mightie lung, that will preuaile with God. *Moses* cryed hard to God, though he spake neuer a word. Which cry did so ring in Gods eare, that he could not but answer; *Why cryest thou Moses?* yea as one saith well, upon that place, *he held his peace that he might cry the louder*; not that the cry of the voyce is to be condemned; but the cry of the spirit commendeth the matter to God.

Exod. 14. 7

*Egit vocis
silentio ut
corde cla-
maret.*

Aug. Q. 52

in Ex:

Fourthly, for the qualitie of it, it must especially be fervent; *it prevayleth much if it be fervent.* This is the fire that doth burne the odors in the *Censor*. *Moses* zeale in this particular was so fervent in that battle against *Amaleke*, that (to use the words of the Prophet *David*.) *It did eate him up.* A key cold *Leiturgie* galopt over, or cast through a sieve with a many *parat-like Tautologies*, or a luke-warme lip-labour, can never bring downe a blessing from God.

Fifthly, and lastly, the helps of prayer, are fasting and mourning

mourning; wherein, and whereby the soule is humbled with God, and fitted to hear from God, and to speak to God. The necessity of these you may see, by the practise of Gods people in all the former examples. The people of Israel in Mizpeth, are said, *to draw water, and poure it out before the Lord, and they fasted.* What is that, but as the Chaldee well observeth, *they poured out their hearts before God, and shed teares in such abundance, as if they had drawn water.* So Iehoshaphat proclaimed a fast. So Ezra proclaimed a fast, and he and the people afflicted themselves before God. It is recorded of Otho the great, Emperour, to his great commendation, that being to joyn battell with the Hungarians, he proclaimed a fast in his Camp, and called on the name of God. This afflicting of the soule, and pouring out of the heart is not yet come home to you the Warriours of the Lord, and giue me leaue a little in particular to intreat your Highnesses to lay home the neglect of these duties to your hearts, with both your hands. Affliction, or nothing, will driue men to God. God threatning his people that hee will leaue them (which is indeed the fearfulllest punishment) tels us; *that in their affliction they would seek him early.* Histories tell us, that the dumb son of Cræsus found his tongue in the danger of his father. The Lord hath been sought for you, both frequently and fervently; but you must seek him earnestly your selues, or all is lost labour. Hezekiah in his trouble sent to Esay the Prophet, desiring *him to lift up his prayer for the remnant that were left,* ch. 37. v. 4; but in his own person also he fasted, mourned and prayed hard, v. 1. 15. You should not want some of Gods Maisters of requests, to lift up their prayers for you, but you must also in your own persons, with Hezekiah cry mightily to God if you mean to be heard. There be too many (though your Graces are not) of the mind of that popish Earle of Westmoorland, who said; *He needed not to pray, he had Tenants enough to pray for him.* Turn in (for Gods cause) upon the closets of your own

1 Sam. 7. 6.

Wuicbin
dus.

Hof. 1. 19.

hearts; examine your selues and be still: And that it may not be a lame nor a livelesse prayer, get matter from reading, hearing, and meditating on the Word. Labour for holiness without the which it is impossible to see God. Get the guidance of the Spirit; for bare saying is not prayer: be fervent & frequent: and for fitting you the better, afflict your soules in fasting and mourning, as your State is afflicted. With *Hester* make your servants fast and pray; Try but this course in truth; and as sure as the Lord liveth, hee shall heap glory and honour upon your heads, and shame upon your enemies.

This course will break the heads of the Dragons of your sinns; this will offer violence to heaven, and as it were inforce God to answer: this will be like an earthquake to your enemies, it will sinke them, it will swallow them up. A pretty instance of this, I remember from the confession of an arch-enemy of the Gospell, namely. *Queen mother of Scotland*; who fighting against God, and the erecting of his Kingdom, confessed openly, *That she feared more the fasting and prayer of the man of God Iohn Knox, and his Disciples, then an Army of 20000 armed men.* As your neglect hath been great in this particular; so the blemish of our Nation, in neglecting and opposing this office, is indeleble. No Nation professing the Gospell, but they haue publickly been humbled in some measure, we excepted: we onely, haue not set forth to *help thus against the mighty*; which I thinke verily hath accursed all the rest of our helps, that they are as *Water spilt upon the ground.* It is true, that the soules of Gods people haue been exceedingly humbled in secret for the afflictions of *Ioseph*, and haue poured out their hearts, in abundance of sighes and teares for their miseries; But what is this to the publique discharge?

Since I am fallen upon the point, I cannot but with griefe obserue, that this Nation hath been at such opposition and enmity with this duty, that it is thought as dangerous a thing

thing to undertake it, as it was in Athens to make mention of the recovery of Salamis; or as it was amongst the Iewes, to speake in the name of Iesus. What should be the cause of this I haue often wondred; I am sure of this, *It is an euill sign of an euill cause*; yea, a fearfull fore-runner and provoker of Gods long protracted wrath to fall upon us. Not any sinne of omission, or commission, hath a more fearfull threatning against it, then this; Witnesse the Prophet *Esay*; *When God* (saith he) *called to weeping and mourning, and to humiliation* (in the highest degree, as the word importeth) *then behold* (saith he) *ioy and gladnesse, slaying of Oxen, and all the contraries*; by which they braved out God to his face. But what followed? A fearfull threatning; *Surely, this iniquity shall not be purged from you till you dye* (saith the Lord of Hosts.) Whose eares should not tingle to heare this? And whose heart should not tremble to thinke upon it? And yet the best in this is too secure.

Ch. 22. 12
13. 14.

But since the duety is so called for, and since it setteth such an edge on invocation, it hath so prevailed against the enemies of Sion, and the neglect of it is so severely threatned; what may be the cause, may some say, that in a Christian Common-wealth it should be thus neglected and withstood? If you will haue my opinion, in my judgement, I conceiue these to be the *Remonaces*, or break-necks of this duty. First, the uniuersall plenty (except the wants of the meaner sort;) so long as there be Oxen and Sheep to kill, and sweet wine enough; so long no humiliation: *When the meat offering and the drink-offering sayleth them, then will the Priests* (saith the Lord by *Iob*) *gird themselves in sackcloth, and lament and howle*. A second let is the conceited glory of the Church; *the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*, say they, and that in great pompe and glory, and what need we mourne? It is an *outside glory* indeed, but there is but a little glory within. A third let is this; men are so enslaved to sin and *Satan*, and so vassalled to their own corruptions, that they dare

Iob 1. 13

dare not encounter with their Maisters; for whose service they haue bored their eares. The fourth *Remora* is this, the plants that are not of Gods planting, know well, that the use of humiliation, would find out the causes of our evill, amongst which themselves would be found to be the chief. So that it is no wonder, that they cannot endure to hear of humiliation. But if men be thus fearfull to awake sleeping dogs, and will hazard themselves, and the Nation upon the point of Gods Pike, what a fearfull plight shall they be in, in that gloomy day that is like to come upon us, wherein the Lord shall giue the Alarum. May not *Ahab* condemne us in this? And where shall we appeare when *Ninivie* shew-

*Obliviscitur
se Regem
esse, ubi De-
um omniū
Regem per-
timescit,
purpuram
abjicit, &c.*

eth it selfe? Of whose King *Ambrose* giveth this pretty observation that he forgot himselfe to be a King when once his heart was smitten with the fear of the King of Kings; hee casteth away his robes, and beginneth by his repentance to be a King indeed: for he lost not his command, but changed it from the worse the better.

But to conclude the point: oh that my counsell could please all those that I haue spoken to, both Kings, Ministers, and people, that we might be humbled as one man together; and every man apart by himselfe: and renting our hearts before the Lord, never leaue importuning him, nor let him goe till he were intreated. If we would humble our selves, the Lord would humble our enemies. It is his

Psal. 81. 13.

34.

Chap. 20.

Covenant; Oh that my people had hearkened to me, and walked in my waies, I should soon haue subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their Adversaries. Oh that wee were like Israel in the Iudges, who went to God the second time, humbling themselves and offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, whereupon the Lord gaue their enemies into their hands. So if we would humble our selves and kill our sinnes, our enemies should quickly loose what they haue got, and pay full deerly for all costs and damages. But before I conclude the point take one caveat with the

duty

duty; that it be performed with fincerity and singlenesse of heart; for if it be done in hypocrisie, or perfunctorily slighted over in the performance, it provokes God, and plagues the performer. The Hollanders and French fast, (but without exprobatation be it spoken) they had need to send, as God speaks, *for mourning women, that by their cunning they may be taught to mourn.* A soft heart sets well to a mournfull duty, where this is wanting, there is no musick. Humiliation, without reformation, is a mockery of God, and the undoing of a good cause. The Lord tels us in the 58 chapter of *Esay*, and the 7 of *Zacharie*, how he abhorred the fasting of his people without reformation, he giues a good reason in the fift and sixth verses; *They fasted not to the Lord, but to themselves;* that is, for their own ends: as if men would serue their own turns with God, and care not a whit how hee be served of them; it were just with God to mock both them and us with shews of favours, because we mock him with shews of service and amendment. And surely, if we look not to it, in the humbling of our selues indeed, all our hopes may be on a sandy ground, and then that of the Lord by *Jeremy* be verified of us: *Ah Lord God, surely thou hast greatly deceived this people;* and *Ierusalem* saying, *Peace shall be unto you, whereas the sword reacheth unto the soule:* the word doth signifie in our Language, *to put a trick upon them;* and so he may doe indeed, for the many we haue put upon him. But God giue these words to work upon our hearts. I haue been the longer in this point, because in it lyeth the strength of all our forces: for *pray well, and repent well,* and you cannot chuse but *fight well.* Prevaile once with God, and it must needs follow that you shall prevaile with men.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Fight it selfe.

I Come now to the very point at length which doth determine all, and that is the fight it selfe: Men must not onely pray, but they must also fight against the enemy: they must not onely speak, but they must also strike: Strokes and words will doe well together. *Moses* and *Aaron* prayed against *Amalecke*, *Ioshua* and *Israel* fought against them. *Amalecke* is a smiter, and he must be smitten. It is a generall fault amongst us that professe Christ, that wee can discharge a few prayers against Antichrist; but a heart to abhor him, and a hand to smite him (even so far as our places reach) we haue not; wee are too too like that white livered Roman in *Tully*, who under excuse to keep the Camp, stayed back from the battle, to whom *Africanus* said well, hee could not endure officious seeming Souldiers, whom indeed doe starke nothing. When *Moses* cryed hard to God, *Israel* being in a great strait, the Lord answered; *Wherefore cryest thou unto me; speak unto the children of Israel that they may goe forward.* He doth not check *Moses* because hee prayed, but because he went not on with the people, as he was commanded, and therefore God reneweth the charge. The Ancients commend the Lacedemonians, that with their prayers, their hands were prompt to fight. To this effect was the speech of that ancient Roman, that by bare wishes and womanish cries, we must not look from God to overcome, but by counsell, watchfulnesse and doing (which are the secondary means whereby God hath appointed us to help our selues) we must looke to overcome. In comming to the very shock, what part of the enemies

*Non enim
nimium di-
ligentes, in-
quit, Afri-
canus.*

Exo d. 14.

*Salustianus
Cato.*

enemies battalion, and with what forces it is first to be charged, is at the Generals discretion. As for that Military cry used, and commended by many in the joyning bartell; yet holden as a base and barbarous thing of others, I will not much contend; onely this, as it is a thing most used by Turkes, Barbarians and Savages in their fight; *so it rather spendeth spirit, then sheweth spirit.* The Barbarians haue this obseruation against this crying; *that dogs that barke much, doe not bite much.* True fortitude consisteth in a stout heart, and in an able hand. Of this mind was *Regulus Mauritanus*, and others. As for the Israelites using of it, *Ios. 6*, it was the Lords command, and they had little opposition in the fight. As for *Cato* his commendation, and *Cæsars* approbation of the use of the voyce in his Commentaries; I take them not to mean hollowing and hooping, but rather a couragious stirring up of one another, and daunting of the enemy with high words, and austerity of looks. Howsoever, let the souldier remember, not to be daunted at the encounter of such as come on with a cry.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Generals and Souldiers part in Fight.

NOW the Bartell being joyned: as the Generall and the souldiers, as head and body, are to perform the charge; so to each of those in particular somewhat belongeth; as to the Generall, with the spirit of wisdom and magnanimity to command and incourage; and that as *Xenophon* said of *Clearchus*, with a pleasant and cheerefull countenance,

The duty of General & souldiers in fight.

*Boni duces
publico cer-
samine nū-
quam nisi
occasione,
aut nimia
necessitate
confligunt.
lib. 3. c. 25.
Front. li. 4.
cap. 7.*

Ibi. l. 4. c. 1

In Pelopida

*Caso duce
facile vin-
cuntur mi-
lites.*

*2 Sam. 18.
3.*

Which will refresh and incourage his Souldiers in their greatest dangers: but hee must not fight at all, except necessity drive him to it. *Vegetius* setteth it down as the property of a good Generall, not to fight except necessity compell him. When it was objected against *Scipio Africanus*, that hee was no great fighter; he was not ashamed to answer, That his mother bare him, not to be a Fighter, but a Commander. The Romanes were so carefull of their Commanders, that *Q. Petilius* the Consull, being slain in the fight against the Ligures, the Senate decreed, that that Legion in whose front he was slaine, should be neglected, they should haue no annuall stipend, and their Armes should be broken. Rashnesse in a Generall deserveth rather blame then commendation. *Marcellus* and *Pelopidas*, two great Captains, and very famous for their exploits; yet (as *Plutarch* telleth us) by adventurous rashnesse, they lost both their repute and their liues.

As this rule of warinesse is given by *Vegetius* to a General, that he should not onely haue a care of the whole Army, that he may bring them off, as he leadeth them on; but also of himselfe: so *Iphicrates* giveth a good reason, from a similitude taken from the head, which is the fountaine of life and motion; if it be cut off, the body is but a trunck; so the losse of the Generall, is the losse of the Army. Agreeable to this, is that speech of that loyall people of Israel to *David* their King, dissuading him from going forth to battell, *Thou art worth ten thousand of us*. Yet for all this, upon necessity, when honour, life and victory lyeth upon it, the Generall must (as many Noble ones haue done) put his life in his hand, and sometimes with *Pompey* take the lot of a common Souldier. *M. Furius Camillus*, a man of Consular dignity, perceiving his Army to slack the charging of the enemy, he layeth hold on the Ensigne, and carryeth him upon the enemy; whereat the Souldiers being ashamed, they went on. *Lucius Sylla*, seeing the Legions giue way

way to *Mithridates* forces, under the leading of *Archelaus*, drawing his sword, he made toward the body of the battle; telling his souldiers, *that if any asked for their Leader, they should say they left him fighting in Boesia*; at which, the souldiers being ashamed, they went on to their service. I could instance the like attempts in a number of our own nation, as the renowned *Norice*; the redoubted *Vere*, and the never dying *Sidney*, but let these suffice.

Now as the Generall, from whom the life and motion of the service, dependeth must be carefull of his souldiers, & of himselfe that he expose not them to any desperate service, nor himselfe to danger beyond his place; so all the souldiers must be carefull to quit themselves in their places: for the defence of their head; the maintenance of their good cause; the glory of their nation; the good of all that depend upon them; & their owne honour and reputation. For military directions in fight, I think there be no better rules then that of the Apostle *Paul*, though in another kind; namely, a spirituall fight. The termes are borrowed from a bodily fight, and therefore they are the fitter for the purpose. The words of the rule are very significant and emphaticall, and therefore I set them downe; *watch yee, stand fast, quit you like men, be strong*. The words, as they are applied by the Apostle, expresse the whole use of every part of the spirituall Armor, unfolding fully all the cunning and dexteritie of a spirituall fight; So the words in themselves, are as so many rules, out of which every souldier may read his duetie in fight.

All things required of a souldier in fight may be reduced to five those five heads. Vigilancie, Fidelitie, Valorous Magnanimitie, Promptitude & Perseverance. All these are included in the foresaid termes.

First, then there must be a wise & heedie watchfulness, especially in subordinate Commanders, even from the file-leader to the highest in subordination, that thereby they may take,

*Nil magis
ad victoria
facit quam
monitis ob-
temperare
signorum.
lib. 3. cap. 5.
Interest
quoque non
parum ut
milites in
prelii con-
fusione de
ducis confi-
dio certiores
fiant.
In Veget.
pag. 216.*

or giue command, by or from signall, cryer, or trumpet, or from the motion of the Commander; which is an excellent director for all militarie motions. As there is nothing according to *Vegetius*, more avayling to victory then the true taking and observing of command, by what meanes soever it be given; so there is nothing more dangerous, then the mistaking of the mind of the Commander. It is a matter of no small consequence, (saith *Stuchus*) for the souldiers in confusion of fight to be well possessed of the Generalls mind: and by the contrary, the mistaking of his mind may mar all. *Appian*us giveth a pregnant instance of this in *Hanibal*, who being in fight, and seeing some troupes of French and Spanish horses, goe to the ascent of an hill, he made towards them to bringe them on for renewing of the fight; the souldiers and Commanders, not understanding his intent, but supposing him to flee presently forsooke fight, and routing themselves fled without any order, not after their Generall, but whether each one listed. By this you see what shame, & confusion, followed upon a contrarie construction of the Generalls intent. At the battle of *Newport* (as I have been informed) there was a foule mistake, & full of danger in Lieutenant *Takshie*, who having his command from General *Vere* to bring up such forces, for such a service, was so take up, eyther with a jealous emulation of Lieutenant *Honywood* (with whom that very morning he should have fought) or with some other transporting cogitation, that he quite mistooke the matter, and brought on such as were not any way fit for that service; which the Generall perceiving in grief & anger, gave him this farewell; *Goe on Takshie (said he) and adieu, for thou hast lost this day, all the honour that ever thou hast got in thy life.* The Lieutenant being brought to this strait, that there was no place for retreat, nor opportunitie for change was forced to lead them on howsoever, who being so weake to entertaine the charge of the enemy, gave presently backe, and would not for any thing he could doe, or say, stand to it,

whereat

whereat the Commander being vexed exceedingly; and being ashamed to come off, & live with the blot of that miscarriage, desperately threw himselfe in the gulf of the enemies fury, to the pittifull losse of a noble souldier, and a very brave Commander, and all as you see upon a mistake. Thus then in fight, it is first required that the souldier haue a good eye, and a good eare, both being given in charge under the word *watch*.

Now to the second thing required which is fidelitie, in-
 joyned in the word *stand*, this is as much here as *καιοθαι*, *to be*
resolutely bent to endure the worst, or *εμμενειν* *to stay by it faith-*
fully, and not to flee a foot: for as men must overcome the
 devill, not by flying or shifting; so must souldiers their ene-
 mies. And this word here is properly opposite to flight,
 which is holden by the currant of all millitarie lawes, very
 ignominious, and if it be to the enemies very treacherous.
 Vegetius (as Struchus expoundeth him) hath the very same in
 effect; *to fly beastly, or to be taken cowardly, is ignominious to the*
partie that doth it: but to flie to the enemy is to betray the cause
and the country, hurting with those same Armes and hands
 the very parties, that haue inarmed them. Againe as they en-
 danger all the rest; so they are so far from exempting them-
 selves from danger (as the same Author observeth) that they
 are in most danger of all others: and therefore he calleth it
 madnesse in men to flee if they can doe any other. The case
 may so stand, and such may be the adversary that men had
 better dye like men in fight, then to forsake their colours and
 be at length made subjects of the enemies tyrannie: Wee
 read of the Romans in fight, that when it was told the Tri-
 bunes of the seventh Legion that the left wing was cleere
 defeated, their colours taken by the enemies, who were
 charging them upon their backes, they gaue not way one
 foote, but stood to it till they were slaine every man. But be-
 cause there is too much mercinarie faith, which never endureth in
 a strait, Generalls haue taken course somtimes to tye the
 run-

καιοθαι.

*Illud ad
 ignominia
 pertinet hac
 Remp. pro-
 dit. Lib. 1.
 cap. 20.
 pag. 44.
 In praeliis
 maxime
 timentibus
 maximum
 est periculum.*

*Ceser 7.
 Belli Gall.
 Mercina: in
 fides un-
 quam durat
 in adversi.*

run-awayes to their service. *Lucius Lucellus* preceiving the *Macedonian* horse to flee to the enemy, caused presently an alarm to be given, and sendeth some out after them; the enemy conceiving that they were coming against him, entertained them with a flight of darts. When the fugitives perceived that they were pursued by their own, & encountered with the enemy, they fell upon the enemy, and quit themselves like *honest men against their willes*. So *Datames* following his fugative troupes, commended them, out of cunning, that they would first charge the enemy; with which speech they being ashamed, they did it indeed. It was very frequent with the Romanes to environ such as were suspected of cowardize, or infidelitie, with their choicest troupes, who might eyther cause them, for feare, to stand to it; or cut them off if they attempted flight. It is reported to be the manner of the *Cymbrians* to tie their companies together with long chaynes, that they should not breake their orders nor run away in the fight.

Alex. ab
Alex. lib 4
Cap 7.

Yet all this that hath been said doth not abridge the souldier of the benefit of a *faire retreat*, which is a speciall part of service, and of no lesse cunning and commendation, then the highest point of atchieving the victory; neither barreth it the benefit of an *honest flight*, which some Generalls have commended, and accelerated upon good grounds for better occasions. That brave retreat of *Horatius Cocles*, from the overswaying power of *Porcenna*, is worth our memory. He caused his forces to returne by the bridge into the towne, and to cut the bridge, to cut off the enemies from following; but like a valiant Champion for his country, stayeth himselfe to stop the enemy, till they cut the bridge; and when he heard the cracke of the fall thereof, he cast himselfe into the river, swimming through, loaden with his Armes, and a great many wounds upon him. As many were the brave services of that noble and compleatly qualified souldier, General *Norice*, so none is held of greater note then that retreat

Front lib. 2
cap. 13.

at Gaunt. It is no lesse vertue sometime to fly well, then to fight
stoutly. It was a pretty policie of Sertorius in Spaine, being
compassed almost with the Army of Metellus, to cause his
souldiers disperse themselves by an orderly flight, and ap-
pointed them a place where againe they should meete him.

*Non minor
est virtus
aliquando
bene fugere,
quam forti-
ter pugnare.*

The third & fourth things, be magnanimious valour, with
a promptitude in the usage of the same; which all are inclu-
ded in this phrase, *quit your selves like men*. The Greeke verbe
contayneth more indeed, then can be fully exprest, without
paraphrase; yea, I read not one word in all the new Testa-
ment, that contayneth more in it, except the words that
expresse the Dietie. The word doth import, an *expressing of*
a manlike fortitude, by many actions. The Latines translate it
viriliter agere, to play the man; this is that indeed which
striketh the stroake (as wee say)

and gēda

This gets the day and gaynes the laurell wreath.

Two things (saith *Stichus*) commendeth a souldier, *fidelitie*
& *valour*. And though *Barnard* was no souldier; yet he hit the
marke prettily well in these directions. A souldier (saith he)
must be circumspect to saue himselfe and others; he must be expedit,
& faithfull in his place, & he must be valorous and prompt to give
his enemies blowes. Admirable it is to read, how the heathens
haue excelled in this. And because all souldiers are perswa-
ded of the trueh of this, and haue plenrie (if they have read)
of instances in their memory. I will onely present you with
a view of the *Lacedemonian* valour, much commended by
Plutarch, & cited to good use, by that industrious *Ambodexter*
(mistake not the word) *Captaine Bingham*. A Goat being sa-
crificed by the King, according to the *Lacedemonian* manner,
and the command being given, they crowne their heads,
and at the sound of the flure, and the song *Pean*, taken up by
the King himselfe, they measure out their March, and come
on with such an undaunted, and advised resolution, that they
seeme ioyfully without astonishment to entertaine the en-
counter. And as herein they shew their magnanimious va-

*Afide &
viribus co-
mendatur
miles.
pag. 224.
Sermo ad
militis sem-
p. cap. 2.*

in Lucitge.

pag. 70.

lour, so their carriage and demeanour is very fearfull to the enemy; according to this encounter they performe the service.

*non tam
di.*

I come at the last, to the last thing required; namely, constancie in holding out: *be strong*, hold to it, endure to the end. So *Iosua* is willed to be strong; *be strong and of good courage*, that is, continue in thy courage. To the same effect, saith one; he is said to be a strong man that *hath endured with an unconquerable mind*. It is not the giving of the first stroke, nor the getting of the first ground; but a continuance in valour, and holding out to the end, that carryeth the day: He that *overcommeth, saith the Spirit, shall be clothed in white*; which is the colour of triumphant victory. Pertinence is the speech of a Father to this purpose, though in another

*Nec parati
ad prelium,
nec pugnantes
ad sanguinem,
multo minus
tergiversantes,
sed vincenti
ad dictoriam.*
Serm. 141.
de scip.

*Non deseram
meum asti-
tem, quo cum
iunctus fu-
ero: pro sa-
cris & pro-
fanis, siue
solus, siue
cum multis
dimicabo.*

case; Not to him that prepares to fight; yea, nor to him that resisteth to bloud, much lesse to a coward that giveth back in the battle; but to him that overcommeth by conquest shall the Crown be given. A continued battle proveth often like a Cock-fight, where the case is so altered on a sudden, that he that was thought to be the Conqueror is the conquered. *Stobæus* maketh mention of an oath that the Athenians took, *I shall not leaue my fellow in fight with whom I am ioyned, but I shall fight for Religion and Country*. It was one of *Scanderbegs* speciall honours, that he never fled. It often falleth out, that by holding out, men obtain the victory that they haue little looked for. *Divus Iulius*, at the battell of *Munda*, being forsaken of some of his forces in fight, who saw they were like to haue the worse, hee caused one to carry his horse out of sight, and leaped into the front of his foot: which the same souldiers observing, and being ashamed to leaue their Commander in the field, they re-inforced the fight, and so had the day. This couragious holding out at the battell of *Newport*, especially by that thrice truly Noble Sir *Horace Vere*; gaue the Spanyard a memorable foyle, got much honour to the English, and re- deemed

deemed the Low-countries from the mouth of the
gaue.

For such souldiers, so qualified, we should be earnest with *Applicatio*
God, for a few of these are worth a great many meer merce-
nary fellows, *that fight onely for themselves (that is) for their own*
gain, and flye for the advantage of their enemies. There is lit-
tle good to be expected of the fearfull and faint-hearted,
who when they come to joyn, are ready to lay down their
armes, or run away, having no other thing to cover their
cowardize withall, but calling for pay. There is no way with
those, as ancient practise teacheth us, *but hemming of them*
in, and holding them to it; and even in this the best is bad
enough; for *compelled prayers and forced fight, are much of*
one nature, and hath often the same effect. God himselfe
the great Warriour, and Lord of Hoasts, who knoweth
best the danger of feare, and faint-heartednesse in those that
are to fight; gaue a law concerning such, that they should
depart from the Hoast to their home. And to that end hee
caused the officers to make proclamation: *What man is there,* *Deut. 20. 7.*
that is soft or tender, (that is) faint-hearted, let him goe and
return unto his house. The like proclamation did Gideon make
at Gods command, when he was to fight against the Midia-
nites; and of 32000 men that were with him, there returned *Judg. 7. 3.*
22000. *Iudas Ma chabeus* being to fight against *Licias* maketh *1 Mach. 7.*
the same proclamation. The Law-giver himselfe giveth a
reason of this Law, *that his brothers heart melt not, or grow*
not faint as his heart: a good reason indeed; for as melting
mettall cast upon other, may make it also melt; so a sort
of fainting swoonding fellows, may cast all the rest in a *syn-*
cope. As the faint-hearted spyes, returning from the view of
Canaan, discouraged all the rest; insomuch that they darst
rather rebell against God, then look their enemies in the
face; so a company of cowards may dash the courage of the
best: and as the Spyas brought a plague upon Israel, for
their faintnesse and incredulity; so faithlesse and fearfull

Cradons bringeth the rest to destruction. And as this faintnesse is dangerous to their fellow souldiers, so it bringeth themselues to further evils then they are aware of. It bringeth sin, shame and destruction: for besides, that with deserved ignominy, they die often like doggs and swine, they bring also (as the Hebrews obserue) the bloud of all the rest upon their heads. Yea, these white livered fellows haue a double curse. First, this soft, feeble, and effeminate heart is a curse in it selfe; the Lord speaking of the curses that he would bring upon his people, if they would not obey, threatneth this as a speciall one. *I will even bring softnesse* **Lev. 26. 36.** *into their heart in the land of their enemies.* Secondly, they are accursed in with-drawing their hand from Gods work, or in doing the work of the Lord deceitfully. *Cursed is he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently, or deceitfully, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from bloud.* The 300 valiant and couragious men, that lapped water with their **Indg. 7. 4.** tongues, were worth all the 32000. Caleb and Iosua having another heart, were of more esteem with God, then all the rest of the people. I would haue all Gods Warriours to take heed of *softnesse of heart* in this sense; and at any hand not to trust such: for commonly they haue hard and cruell hearts against any thing that good is. The King of Britaines observation upon the Lords prayer, maketh this good by the instance of the Deer, which being the softest hearted and fearfullest of all other beasts; yet is the cruellest of all, to minde an injury, and an opportunity to revenge it. Hence a fearfull man is called, *A Man like a Hart.* Ancients doe tell us, and examples doe testifie, that there is no greater Tyrant then a cowardly King; Witnesse Nero, Caligula, Tiberius; yea, according to *Plutarch*, as *fearre and cowardize is the cause of their cruelties*, so the greatest coward of all is a faint hearted souldier. The idolatrous Gentiles both Romans and Grecians, made a Temple to *Fear*, as to one of their gods, (as *Belshazzar*) to which they sacrificed

ελαφειως
αυηρ.

Βιη νεεν-
τοι

a dog, intimating thereby, that they should haue no fellow-
ship with feare. It is better to haue a coward to thy foe, then
to thy counsellour or copartner: for a man can look for no
true good from the fearfull. *Faint feare* (saith Tully) is an ene-
my to good will. *The Camelion* (saith Pliny) is the fearfullest
creature of all other, and therefore it turneth it selfe into all co-
lours that it may shift for it selfe. So fearfull men, without
respect of faith or friendship, they turn themselves into
all colours but *the truth*, that they may save themselves.
And whom they fear most, they serue most, though it be
least to their credit or commodity. Cowardize is well
compared by the Grecians, to a *white livered disposition*,
whence we take our proverb *white livered*: as that wate-
rish *duscrasie*, or distemper of the liver, causeth dropsies
and *Lienteries*, and so hurteth the body more by corrupt
humours, then it helpeth it by *sanguification*; and howso-
ever life for a time be protracted; yet colour, strength, and
appetite faileth exceedingly, and breath at length forsaketh
the body: so a fearfull *white livered friend*, may seem to
keep life in a good cause for a time, but it is but an *hydro-
pick*, or *lienterick life*, which being both together are symp-
tomes of inevitable death. Some corrupt counsell, luke-
warne comfort, and weake forces to no effect, they may
affoord; but it is but a *palliation*; it is *no cure*: it is but to
quench the Citie with a *pottle pot* when it is all on fire, which
indeed will make it burn the faster.

In a word, the fearfull man is a foe to his friend, and a
friend to his foe. What made Saul eye David continually
to doe him hurt, but his conceived feare; though other cau-
ses concurred, yet this was the speciall: *What can he haue*
more but the Kingdom? Whence arose the ruin of *A-
chaz* and all his, but from the servile feare where-
with they were possessed, as the the holy Ghost; by the
Prophet *Esay* witnesseth: *When hee heard that Syria was*
confederate with Ephraim, hi. heart was smoued, and the heart

Alex. ap.
Alex. l. 1.
cap. 13 p. 27
Benedolen-
tia vis est
metus in-
becillitas.
2. off.

λευκωμα-
τια.

1 Sam. 18.
8. 9.

2. Tim. 1.
17.

A sound
conclusiō

ὡς λευ-
κὼν ἐν-
δραὺν οὐκ
ἔστι τι
τοῦ μὲν.

of his people, as the trees of the wood. Where this spirit of slavish feare is, the spirit of God is not. God (saith Paul) to Timothy hath not given the spirit of feare, but of power, of love, and of a sound mind. Where the Apostle opposeth the spirit of God, or the graces of the spirit, as power, love, and soundnes of judgment, to this slavish feare, which for the prevayling power of it, he calleth *the spirit of feare*, which cannot consist with the power of the foresaid graces, whether it be in ministers, souldiers, Captaines, Generalls, or Kings. As it is spoken there directly to the Ministers; so of all men they had most need to looke to it: for the spirit of feare in a Minister is a most fearfull plague to himselfe and others, especially in these fearfull times, that requireth so much use of the spirit of power. But observe this, as a main conclusion from the place touching all persons, *that where this spirit of feare resideth, there is neither soundnes of judgment, nor sinceritie of affection, nor power of action to be looked for.* What should men then doe with such Ministers, friends, souldiers, or any other such? these white livered men, as the Grecian noteth well, are good for nothing.

As I desire that all men might remember the fearfull punishment of this slavish feare; namely, *the burning lake*; for the
Rev. 21. 8. *fearefull and unbelieving, &c.* Where observe, they are the very first in front, so I wish and pray, that all that put their hand to the worke and fight those battels, would take courage to them. I would that speech of God, by Moses, unto the people might prevaile with them, *Heare oh Israel, you approach this day to battle against your enemies, let not your heart be soft, feare not, and hasten not away; neyther be you terrified because of them.* The Lord addeth a reason, *for Iehovah your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies; to save you:* Even, so would he be with us, if we would be with him; if you will fight for God as David did, that blessing that was pronounced upon David by Abigail, shall be upon you and yours, the Lord would certainly make you a
like

sure house, and honour you and your children for ever because you fight the battels of the Lord: and he would bind up your soules in the bundle of life. I will not herein play the Pope, to assure life, and reliefe of friends, out of purgatorie for fighting of the Lords battles; No, if such a fight would serve the turne, in vain, did *Christ* fight that great battle on the crosse: but thus much I will assure them, that they that fight these battles, they fight the battels of the Lord, for the maintenance of which, the Lord hath given his promise: and surely such as dye in these, they dye for the Lord; and thrice happie they, if they dye in the Lord. As for their enemies fighting against the Lord, they haue none of this assurance, and howsoever it goe with them they can haue no sound comfort.

One thing more in the fight to be observed is, that beaten rule of much use and practize; not onely to let the enemy fly, but to make way for him to fly, if he be so disposed, for this there be both lawes and a multitude of examples. *Licurgus* gaue a written law to the *Lacones*, not to stop the enemies flight. It was the saying of *Scipio Africanus*, that he would not onely giue way, but he would also make way for his enemy to fly. A number of examples you haue in *Frontine*. *Cesar* having inclosed the *Germans*, standing to it desperatly, made way for them to fly. *Haniball* did so with the *Romans* at the battle of *Thrasimena* opening his orders, he let them fly & so defeated them. So did *Camillus* with the *Gauls*. The *Grecians* having got the victory at *Salamis*, they determined to cut the bridge over *Hellepont*, to stop *Xerxes* his passage: but *Themistocles* that old beaten souldier with danger, counselled to let him passe: for it stood with greater wit to rid the land of him, then to force him to fight.

The reasons of this rule be two; the first given by *Vegetius*; *necessitas* is a desperat vertue which will effect (as *Themistocles* well observeth) that which neyther valour, nor magnanimitie darst adventure to doe. Secondly, by this the victory is more

*Desperatio
magnum est
ad honeste
moriendum
incitamentum
Curtius
lib. 9.*

more easily obtayned: they may kill, and take at their pleasure routed forces without the losse of themselves, where as by keeping them to it, they may buy the victory to deare. Despaire will incite some to dye with honour, (if dye they multiply that it may be, never meant it. G. Mauius the Roman Consull, keeping the *Hetruscians* too strait, lost his life, and had lost the field, if his Legats had not opened their orders and let them passe, and so they had them at their pleasure. Yea this sometimes hath lost the victory; witnesse King *John* of France inuironing *Edward* the blacke Prince, not suffering him upon any conditions to passe, put him and his handfull so to it, that the French had shame and repentance for their paines. To conclude the point, I will shut it up with the saying of Count *Patiline*; *If mine enemy (saith he) would fly I would make him a bridge of gold to fly upon; yet all this must be taken with a graine of salt; Not so to let the enemy fly as to loose the occasion of the victory, or for feare, to hold backe the sword from blood (that were to incourage the enemy, to redintegrate the fight.)* That wise speech of Kings *Agis*, is worthy of observation, who in the pursuit of his flying enemies, being counselled to make way for them; answered thus: *If wee be not able to overcome our flying enemies, how should wee overcome our fighting enemies? intimating thereby that no occasion against the enemy should be lost.*

*Platarch. in
Apotbeg.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Issue of the battle in Generall.

NOW I come to the Issue of the battle, which giueth the one partie the victory, and the other the overthrow: for seldome they part on an even hand. It is true indeed that the

the victory is so deare bought many times (that as the Learned observe) it scarce deserveth the name of victory. Of that deare bought victory, the Grecians haue a prettie proverbe. The conqueror cryeth and the conquered is undone. Pyrrhus that Mirror of Generalls made this good out of his owne experience; who having twice defeated the Romans, but at so deare a rate, that he was forced to say: such another victory would undo us. Yet since there is alwayes a better and a worse, my taske putteth me to it, to discover as briefly & perspicuously as I can, how both the conquerour, and the conquered should carry themselves. Seneca layeth downe the generall:

Noscere hoc primum decet,

Quid facere victor debeat, victus pati.

It first becomes the conqueror to know

What he should doe, the conquered also

What he should suffer.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Carriage of the Conquerour.

TO begin then first with the victor: for (as Tully observeth) *Victoria est* victory is alwayes rash and insolent. For the ordering of victory there be two sorts of directions, the former for making of it up, the latter for the right usage of it, when it is fully attained. In the former there be these two observations. First the conquerour must take heed of the rash and disordered pursue of the enemy. To this effect serveth well that counsell of Iphicrates ioyned with his practice. This Commander following his flying enemy, at his leisure in good order, gave order to his souldiers in the pursue, that they should beware of ambushment, and that they should not

*Be carefull
to make
up the vic-
tory.*

Lib. 3.

Frequenter

jam fusa

acies disor-

dat, ac post-

quam sequen-

tes repara-

tis viribus

interimit.

lib. 3. cap.

23.

Appianus
de bello
Hispanie.

follow too hard, nor neere to the Walls or forts planted with munition, giving a good reason as Polyannus well observeth, that many by doing so have lost the victory, that they had obtained. Vegetius telleth us, that it often so falleth out, that forces put to flight, recollecting themselves against the disordered pursuers, do alter the case, and killeth them right downe as conquered, that were the conquerors. This change of fight, by way of a proverbiall speech, is called *osculana pugna*, or a battle wherein they, which before had the victory, are now overcome; as though victory with a kisse had saluted them, and so forsaken them. So it fell out with *Pirrhus*, who having in a manner overcome *Valerius Levinus*, the Roman Commander, was by him in the same battle by the recollection of forces overcome. A notable instance of this, Historians give in *Q. Fulvius* that noble Roman Commander, who being overcome by *Carus*, Generall of the *Segadans*, and having lost six thousand, he observed the disordered pursute of the enemy, out of his too much pride and confidence, as though there had bene no danger of re-encounter; whereupon he commanded some troupes of Horse being laid to keepe the strays, to charge the disorderly pursuing enemy; who presently unhorsed & killed the Generall *Carus*, being in the front of the followers: besides him they flew 6000, and pursued the victory till night.

Yet with this caution, another extreme is to be avoided, namely the slacking so of the pursuite, that they loose more which they might have, then that which they obayne is worth. This neglect of *Hanibal* at the battle of *Cannas* lost Rome, which would have been the crowne indeed of the *Charthaginian* war: had he, according to the counsell of his friends, *flowne to the marke*, that is, pursued the defeated and routed, Romanes into the citie; he might have taken the prey, of which againe he had never so faire an offer: neither doe I thinke (though otherwise a great Commander) that he could give any good account of his neglect; orely this

generall

generall might excuse him; *no man is wise at all times.* For this Barchab the Carthaginian gaue him this Motto, to his everlasting blemish; *thou canst overcome Haniball, but thou canst not use the victory, to thy best advantage.*

The second observation is, that they abstayne from spoyle, till they haue fully secured themselves, from any further re-attempt of the enemy: some snatching at the prey before the victory insured, haue often lost, both prey & victory. Tacitus giveth an instance in the *Germanes*, who onely out of their greedines of the prey, were overthrowne by the Romanes at the battle of *Hermynius*. Therefore *Saxo Gramaticus* giveth a good rule for this: *with "contempt of gold it self, pursue the possessors of the gold.* Many examples there be of this kind, let this one more suffice. The Germans at the battle of *Erlam* in Hungarie, Anno 1596, having thrice defeated the Turkes; yet through untimely falling on the spoile, were themselves defeated. And so much for the insuring of the victory.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the true Use of Victory.

THUS having shewed you as well as I can, how to secure the victory; I come now to the true use of the victory being thus secured. The true use or good carriage of the victory consisteth in these five particulars. *Thankfulnesse to God, moderation of themselves, Clemencie toward the conquered, Lawfull usage of the creatures, and due respect to their owne souldiers.*

Now to the first, wherein there be two things to be noted, First an acknowledgment of the victory to come of God, and next to be thankfull to God for it. For both those there be plentie of testimonies, both in Gods booke, and other writers.

Five things to be observed in the true use of victory. Acknowledge victory to be of God, & be thankfull for the same.

ters: the former of these two all men will easily acknowledge in word (except they be Atheists) but the neglect of the latter sheweth the former, in the most, to be but verbal: for if men would acknowledge that victory were from God indeed, they would never carry themselves so insolently in their victories against God as they doe. But to come to some proofs. First, that all victories are of God. *Samuel* speaking of the victories that *David* and his worthies obtained: and the

2. Sam. 23. Lord wrought a great victory that day. God is said to giue *Abra-*
 10. ha the victory ouer his enemies. So to giue *Iosua* his enemies
 Gen. 14. 20 into his hands: So you may see in that song of *Moses*, and in
 Iosuah. 11. the song of *Deborah*. As victory is of God, so all the Saints of
 6. God haue attributed their victories to God, & thanked God
 Exod. 15. for them; as may appeare at large in the aforesaid songs.
 Iudg. 5. Blessed be the most high God (saith *Melchizedeck* to *Abraham*)
 which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hand. *Moses* after
 the victory obtained over the *Amalekites*, in token of his
 thankfulness erecteth an Altar to the Lord, which he calleth
 by the name of *Iehovah is my banner*. The Prophet *David* at
 Gods commandement, having smitten the *Philistins*, attribu-
 ted all the power unto God, & for the victory giveth him all
 the prayse; *The Lord hath broken, forth* (saith he) *upon mine*
enemies as the breach of many waters; therefore he called the name
of the place Baal Perazin; where observe how he ascribeth the
 victory wholly to the power of God, and in token of his
 thankfulness for the same obtained, he leaveth a monument
 thereof in the name of the place, calling it *Baal Perazin*, or
 the plain of division, or broken assunder; because he brake
 in upon them, by the power of God, like the inundation of
 waters. To this purpose, the 22, of the second of *Sam*: is
 worth your reading.

Iehovah
Nissi.
 Exo. 17. 5.

The very heathens who were ignorant of the true God; yet did acknowledge their victories to be of God, and therefore laboured to intice from their enemies their tutelargods, to get them on their side, that they might the easier over-
 come

come them. Of that mind were the Philistims in that battle against the Israelites, when they perceived that the Ark of God was come into the Campe (though he were not there himselfe) yet were they exceedingly afraid, and said; *God is come into the Camp, and they said, Woe unto us, who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty Gods? &c.* They spake not this out of any true fear, or yet out of any true knowledge that they had of God: but onely they feared that the Gods of Israel (for so they called the Ordinances) would plague them, as the Ægyptians were plagued by them: but God in just wrath gaue his people into their hands: which victory they attributed to their god Dagon, and in token of their thankfulness, they sacrificed the best of their spoiles to him, namely, the *Arke* of God which they had taken from the Israelites. The Thracians, though a warlike people, yet the most barbarous of all Nations, doe challenge *Mars* for their Country-man, and so make him their God, to whom they bow before they goe to batle, and to whom they sacrifice the best of their captiues, after their victory. Where, by the way, in exercise of Armes, *to offer a laurell bough to a fayned Mars, is more Thracian-like, then Christian-like.* For in jest or in earnest, wee should not attribute, or make any shew of attributing victory to any other God, but to *Iehovah*. The Romanes likewise had their Temples consecrated to Victory. And to put the Romish *Philistims* in the bushell with them, as they duely deserue, they sacrifice the prayse of their victory, to *Iack* in the box, or other Idols.

1 Sam. 4. 6.

Marcellus lib. 27.

Ædes v. Bouie. Alex. ab Alex. lib. 6. cap. 11.

But all these may tax a great many that goe under the name of Christians. They know that victory and deliverance are from God; yet when it commeth to the acknowledgement, and tendering to God his due honour; they say little lesse in their actions then *Pharoah* said in plain termes; *Who is the Lord that I should obey his voyce? I know not the*

Lord. That which is related of *Tamerlan*, called *the Scourge of God for tyrannie*, may make many blush at their unthankfulness to God. Having taken *Baiazet* the great Turke, at the battle of *Stella montis* or *Cassona*, (as the Turks call it,) he went out on foot to meet him, brought him into his Tent, set him on the same Carpett at meat with himselfe, and did him all the honour that possible he could: he began to recomend how much they were both bounden to giue thanks unto God, for the great things he had bestowed on them; for bringing himselfe, being a poore lame man, to command from the borders of India to the gates of *Babylon* from the which he had given *Baiazet* to command to the borders of Hungarie; insomuch, saith he, if God had vouchsafed to haue given me a share in the whole world what could such a crooked thing as I desire more? And are we not bound (saith he) to giue him many thanks? This is more I am sure then a great many haue thought on in any serious manner; but they are liker to *Baiazet* indeed whom *Tamerlane* questioned, whether ever he had giuen thanks to God or no, for making him so great an Emperour who confessed ingenuously that, whereof many be guilty (though they are ashamed to confesse it;) that he had never so much as thought upon giving thanks to God. To whom *Tamerlane* replied, that it was no wonder that so ungratefull a man should be made a spectacle of misery. For you (saith he) being blind of one eye, and I lame of a leg, was there any worth in us why God should set us over two great Empires, of Turkes and Tartars, to command many more worthy then our selues? I would haue many to obserue this; and if neither Gods workes for them, nor his Word to them, nor their professing that they know him, will serue to work their hearts to thankfulness: yet let them for shame pick a pattern out of one of the worst men that ever we reade of: and let them blush at the drowning of many great deliverances in oblivion, as though God had been

*Hec Leon-
clavius in
editione sua
Annal.
Turcar.*

been bound to them. Are not some from their cradle to this day, ingaged to the purity of Religion, by their continuall preservation, and admirable deliveries from the designs of their enemies; yet how haue they requit religion, and her followers? in plain termes, *with the devill to their thanks.* Yea, let those to whom God in fighting of his battles hath given any victory, be humbled for their great neglect of this. I speak in particular to the Hollander, whose deliverances hath been admirable, and whose maintenance is from the very finger of God against the whole forces of Babel; but I fear their forgetfulnesse wil make God weary of them: and we may well take them by the hand; for we haue not yet so much as reckoned with God for the debt of 88, and the Powder-plot deliverance. As we haue joyned in this so sacrilegious a sin of unthankfulnesse; so God giue us to joyne both in reckoning and restitution.

It is a thing incident to Gods children to be too too faulty in this very particular, if they looke not to it. Witnesse good *Hezekiah*, who had more minde to shew his pompe and bravery to the Babylonish Embassadors, then to giue thanks to God for his deliverance from *Senacherib*; and therefore the Lord met with him. In time to come, upon any opportunity, forget not to offer sacrifice of praise, be the victory never so little. *David* in the very same case, doth modell with himselfe what to render unto God. *What shall I render to Iehovah for all his bounty toward me? The returne of thanks in any true manner and measure, maketh an increase of the stock.* Psa. 116. 12

To these two former, a third may be added respecting God, that if any place contended for, come under the conquerors government, that he purge it from idolatrie and all false worship, so much as in him lyeth. A mixture of religion or a linsie woollie worship, the Lord will not tolerate, and what man dare take upon him then to doe it? The suppressing of all false worship, may be pressed upon Kings and Magistrates

Purge out
idolatry.

Reasons
for sup-
pressing
false wor-
ship.

Magistrates, wheresoever they haue right to command, by these fiue reasons: from Gods strict commandement in this behalfe, from the nature of God to be worshipped, from the office of the Magistrate, from the practize of Idolaters, and lastly, from the euill that ensueth upon idolatrous worship.

Then to the first (for in every particular I would be briefe) God plyeth this point againe and againe upon his people, and the rulers thereof; namely, *that they should breake*

Exo. 23. 24
& 32.

downe their images; that they should make no covenāt with them nor with their gods; that they should not suffer them to dwell in the

Deu. 12. 13

land; they should make no mention of the names of their gods; that they should destroy their places wherein they serued their gods, yet

Deut. 7. 3.

the graven images. Againe thou shalt not stricke any conuēt with them. What can be more more plainly said against toller-

Tota eorum
conuersatio
prohibita
est.

tion? for herein is forbidden, as one saith well, not onely *their grosse idolls, or superstitious rites and ceremonies in the true worship of God, but generally all conversation is forbidden with them as naught.*

If any plead against this, that the charge concerned the *Jewes* against the *Canaanites*, in particular; I answer, observe but the reason of the charge, and it will tell you that it concerneth all Gods people in the case of idolatrie, or superstitious worship, *the rule must neede be as generall, as the reason of the rule:* but the reason both in *Exodus* and *Deut:* concerneth all; therefore so doth the rule; *They shall not dwell in the*

Exo. 23. 23.

land (saith the Lord) lest they make thee to sin against me: for thou wilt serue their gods, which shalbe a snare unto thee. And againe, thou shalt not make marriages with them, thy daughter thou shalt not giue to his sonne, and his daughter thou shalt not take to thy sonne. Marke the reason: for he will turne away thy sonne from after me. Haue not wofull experience taught us in this land? and were wee not like to be taught (like fooles) in a deeper and more dangerous instance? Of the generalitie of this instance; If any can say of his sonne heart that an idolatrous daughter cannot turne it away from

from God, then he might goe match him with such an one: but the former were to contradict God, therefore he may not doe the latter. *Babes* (saith *S. Iohn*) *keepe your selues from idolls*. That is as *Tertullian* saith) *ab ipsa effigie eorum*. From any relique, or shew of them, all which should be abandoned. In precept *Iohn* forbiddeth these foure things; The making of Idols; the using of Idols; the keeping of them in the house or land; (for all must be put away, as I haue shewed:) And lastly, wee are to auoide the users of Idolls; they must be abandoned. *Take heed that none spoyle, or make a prey of you.*

1. Iob. 5. 12
De corona
militis.
cap. 10.

Lib. 2. 8.

Col. 2. 8.

As for the Papists excuse, that they are no Idolaters, it is but a covering of fig-leaves, as the word of God, the writings of the learned, both ancient and moderne doth fully manifest, wherein they are discovered to be the very worst sort of Idolaters. Looke *Master Perkins* in his treatise of idolatrie of the last times.

Page. 685.

The second reason may be taken from the nature of God and true religion, which is one, as God is one, *one saith, one God*. There be many false religions, as there is much counterfeit *Pearle*; but one true religion, compared to the *Vnion* or *Margarit*. This appeareth by the Etymon of religion, which is so called as *Lactantius*; *a religando*, from tying the soule unto God, *non a relegendo* (saith he) as *Tully* would haue it: Nor *a relinquendo*, as the Atheist would haue it. So *Augustine* runneth upon the same ground. *Religion is that whereby the soule is tyed unto God*; and so *Isidore* to the same effect. This unitie will endure no competition: *Dagon* and the *Arke* cannot stand together: Yea God will haue no partner in his Worship: because he is a jealous God. In that land where God dwelleth he will endure no worship but his owne. Having commanded the Israelits to roote out all idolatrie and superstition, he sheweth them that *he will chosse out a place where he will put his name, and there he will dwell, & thither should they resort*: As if the spirit of God should say, where he dwelleth, there must no Idols dwell. Yea let Kings

Eph. 4. 5.

Lib. 4. de
Divin. in-
stit.

Religio est
quia se uni-
ma deo li.

2at.
1. Sam. 4. 4

Dent. 12. 4.
7.

and Princes perswade themselves, if they suffer idolatrie in the place where hee hath put his name, hee will bee gone from them and the place. It is an Athiest-like conceit of carnall wretches, and grosse Papists (as I haue heard from some of them,) *That a man may be saved by any religion,* although God would be pleased with any thing.

The third reason may be taken from the office of the Magistrate, or supreme power, whose office as it is to establish true Religion, and to maintain it; so he must extirpare the false. *Moses* beate the golden Calfe to powder; *Ezechiah* brake the brazen Serpent; *Iosiah* and *Iehoshaphat*, plaid their parts in this; and where they left any relict it is (deservedly) laid upon them as a fault: *but the high places they took not away.* That point of separatism against this is very unsound, whereby they would abridge the power of the Magistrate in reforming of religion. Their evasion likewise, from the instance of the Kings under the Law, is of no worth: for Christ himselfe as a King reformed the Temple, and that as the Learned observeth two severall times; first, at the beginning of his course, *Ioh. 2*; and lastly at, or toward the end of his course, *Math. 21. 12*, not onely by words, saith *Cyriel*, but by strokes also, did he reform the abuses, and that as a Magistrate, as all the Learned obserue. Yea, that Evangelicall Prophet fore-telleth, that Kings under the Gospell, shall be *nourising fathers*, and *Queens nourising-mothers to the Church*. Now fathers and mothers must as well abandon that which is naught from their children, as maintain that which maketh for their good. But since it doth rellish too much of Anabaptisme, I would haue them let it goe. Hence likewise that groundlesse reason, against the truth of the Churches of England, falls to the ground: that they are false, because they had no call but inforced constraint by the sword of the Magistrate: the Magistrate, as I haue proved, in abandoning false worship, and establishing the true worship, doth nothing but what his place injoynes him: if hee

Sic Chrysostom & Augustini.

Non verbis solum sed verberibus etiam.

Esa. 49. 33.

hee be tyed to the former, he is tyed to the latter, because contraries are under one, and the selfe same logicall genus: *Contraia sunt sub eodem genere.* Neither by this means (as they mistake) were the Churches called; but by the pains taking of the Ministerie: Witnesse that course taken both in the raign of K. *Edward*, and in the beginning of the raign of Q. *Elizabeth*; would they but in sobriety difference the *weaknesse of being*, from the *nullity of being*; and the purity of a thing, from the truth of a thing, they should come off the quick-sands whereon they haue set themselves. The judiciously sincere, neither for fear, favour, gain, or any by respect, makes their Churches worse or better then they are indeed; neither doe they attribute more or lesse to the Magistrate then is due: And as he is the *Protector and Acquitter of both the Tables* from abuse; so let him haue his due, but let him look to doe his due, and let him not hearken to those *Matchivilian* heads, who giue too much to him, as the former giue too little, perswading that he may *tolerate any religion so it be for his profite.* *Est vindex utriusque tabule.* A more dangerous Principle then this, is not hatched in hell; and whatsoever Prince is perswaded of this (as one faith well) will in the end proue a *very mocker of all religion.* *Matchivil. relig. Maxim. 2.* Nature it selfe will evince the falshood of this position: *Discourse against Match.* for as Nature teacheth that there is a God: so likewise that there is but one God (for otherwise hee could not be perfect, since perfection and unity are reciprocall) by just consequence then it must necessarily follow, that there must be but one Religion, and that of Gods own appointment.

Some Civilians, who (for the most) are too much Matchiavalized, *loving the profits better then the Law*, labours to palliate this with utilitie, matter of fact, and necessity: And for instance they bring *Sulzan Solymán* the great Turke (a fit example indeed) who being moved by the *Mufsty*, (or chiefe Pope) and the *Cadilesheiri* (or Arch-prelates) together with some of the *Bassaes*, to abandon the Christi-

ans, Iews, and all of diuerse religions; or otherwise to force them to *Muzilmanize*, that is, to professe Turcism: The Turke looking out at a window, pointed them to the variety of the flowers in the garden; whereunto (saith he) I compare diuersities of religions in my Dominions, which are rather usefull then hurtfull, so they liue in obedience. The like, they tell us of *Alexander*, *Severus*, *Traian*, and others: but what be these to Christian Kings and Rulers, who haue not so learned Christ? They must walk by Lawes and not by Examples; neither must God loose the least jote of his honour, for their greatest gaines. As for necessity, in regard of disturbance, all wisdom is to be used in avoyding of it, and all faire meanes used to reduce them to the truth: but disturbing must not bee avoyded with sinne. It is a clause worthy the observation, and by the Popes themselues placed in the Canon right, though not observed, but ill abused; *That it is far better that offence or disturbance should come, then the least truth should be forsaken.* Is a King a nourishing father, and will he suffer a plaguy or leprous childe to be in the house, or lye in the bed with his childe that is sound? Will he suffer poyson to lye strawed about, where his childe may reach it? This were to murder his childe, and not to play the parent to it. Will a King suffer forraign Kings to erect their Lawes in his Dominions, and permit his subjects to obey, some one, and some another? No, hee would scorn it, and hold them Traytors that should motion it: and will he put that upon God, and force him (as it were) to bear, that he will not bear himselfe? Surely, the Lord will not bear it.

Reg. 1. de
Regimini
num. 6.

It was a princely part, and a royall resolution, worthy the imitation in *Edward* the sixth, a *Sun-shine* over-clouded by the finnes of this land in the very rising: hee being requested with his Councell by *Charles* the fifth, then Emperour, to suffer the Lady *Mary* his sister, to haue a Masse in
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her house; the Councell sitting about that and other things, sent D. *Cranmer*, and D. *Ridley* to perswade the King to grant it. When he had heard what they could say, he so learnedly and grauely did refute it, out of the word of God, that with astonishment their mouthes were stopt. Then they fell to him with false grounds of policy; as the loosning of the Emperours favour, the hardening of his sisters heart, the discontenting of Popish subjects: to whom he replyed; that they should content themselues; for *hee would spend his life and all that he had, rather then agree or grant so that, which he knew certainly to be against the truth.* Yet for all this they would not leaue him, but pressing him further, he fell a weeping, and willed them to let him alone; *Hee had cause to weep indeed, but they greater:* Where they should haue preserved him from sinne, they were made the meanes to corrupt him. The Prelates, and pleaders for Conformity, haue no great reason to brag of these men, (as they were Bishops not of Gods making,) for whilst their heatts were deceived, and their eies vayed with the bewitching honours, and glorious shewes of Pabel, against the light of knowledge; they proved, as you see, enemies to the crosse of Christ; therefore God puld them out of their rags, and cast them in the Furnace, and then they proved his friends indeed; and so may some Prelates proue, if God bring them to the stake: But to the matter; for all that they could doe, such was the zeale of that holy Saint and happy King; *that Lady Mary could haue no Masse at that time.*

Fox. pag.
1179.

To conclude this reason, men would haue thought, that the union of Britains Kingdomes would haue cut short the increase of Babel his Kingdom; and that the Foxes should haue been forced, either to change their skins or holes: but we see, for our sinns, by neglect of authority, that, to the dishonour of God, the defacing of his Gospell, the griefe of his people, and indangering of life, crown, and dignity,

they are so hugely increased in both Kingdoms and in Ierland, that, in their own conceit, they are grown too hard for us: it is most just with God if we spare the Cananites, that the Cananites should vex us.

The fourth reason may be taken from idolaters, who to our shame are zealous of their false worship. The Lord may justly upbraid us with such, as he did his people Israel: *Ier. 2. 11.* *nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods: but my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit.* So the Lord may inquire of us, whether heathen Rome, and Antichristian Rome, do tolerate any worship but that which is of their owne appointment. The Laws of old Rome, forbade any strange Gods to be worshipped amongst them, that is, as *Tully Cic. de leg.* *expoundeth, privatim adscitos, of mens private device; but by the Senats publique appointment: so new Rome is as strict, in that they will haue no mixture but of their owne making; instance the Tridentin excommunications; with which likewise, with many others, the Doctors of Doway, upon the Lords forbidding of mixtures of seed, cattle, and garments: Lev. 19. 19. here all participation (say they) with heretikes, and schismatickes is forbidden.* Philip of Spaine said, he had rather haue no subjects, then subjects of a diuers religion: and out of a bloudy zeale, suffered his oldest sonne Charles to be murdered by the cruell inquisition; because he seemed to faviour profession, for which, *that mouth of blasphemie the Pope, gaue him this for his panagyr, that he had not spared his owne sonne but had giuen him for them.*

*Non peper-
cit filio suo,
sed dedit pro
nobis.*

*Hieron. Ca-
tina.*

As old Rome, called the Christian religion, a new religion, so new Babilon calleth the ancient trueth a new religion, or heresie; and therefore they hold it a damnable thing, to haue any thing to doe with it, expecting but a day when they may race out the remembrance of it: As for our drawing nigh unto them in superstitious rites; they flout us to our face, and tell us in a bravado, *that let us come as nigh to them as wee will, they will not come one haire's breadth nigh to us; yea they*

they asperse our religion with this, that if it were true wee would never bland it. How bitter then is the fruit of D. Hall, his *correspondencie* with poperie, for which he pleadeth in his treatise of travells, and urged hard for conformitie with popish ceremonies, by Heylin in his Geography. As for the Papists applauding of our Ieiturgie (as he speaketh there) it is but a sorry prayse to it; when they reckon with him, they will pay him for this, as they doe in the Epistle to Spalatoes recantation (where belying him falsly with the name of an unlearned Minister) they flout him for his bragge, that the English Church was honoured with a *Dalmattan* pall put upon a *Bandogg* indeed. I know the Doctor knoweth them well enough, and that there is *no peace with Rome*, who haue sworne themselues deadly enemies to the gospel and the Professors thereof. It is the oath of the Knights of the holy Ghost, ordeyned by Henry the third of France, Anno 1570. that they should persecute the *Hugonits*.

Quo vadis
pag. 13.
Heylin.
pag. 249.

In the honour of
the married
clergie.
pag. 55.

Now I come to the last argument, which is, the evill ensuyng upon the toleration of any false religion. The Lord telleth the Israelits that if they destroy not all the idols of the *Canaanits*, that his anger should be kindled against them, and he would destroy them suddenly. How angry was God with *Iehosaphat*, for hauing any thing to doe with idolatrous *Achab*: therefore he rebuketh him sharply, & threatneth him fearfully by the mouth of *Hanani* the Seer; *shouldest thou helpe the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord: therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord*. And falling in the same fault againe in ioyning with wicked *Ahaziah* King of Israel; he telleth him by the mouth of *Eliezer*; *because thou hast joyned thy selfe with Ahazia, the Lord hath broken thy workes*. If the Lord were thus angry for joyning in civill affaires, how angry would he haue been if he had admitted their idolatry, or matched with them?

Deut. 7. 4.

2. Chron. 19.

2. Chron. 20.

37.

The most part of the Kings and great ones, they cyther forget God altogether, or they thinke he is not the same God

Application

God. I would therefore haue them to cast but their eyes upon examples of later times, and see how the Lord hath met with tolerators of false religion. *Henry the fourth of France* begun well, but he held not out; whose tolerating of others (though upon extremitie,) and imbracing of popery, for a kingdom, though from the teeth outward; caused the Lord (as one said well to him) to smite first at his tongue, where with he had denied him, and at last to smite at his heart, by one of the furies of the same hellish religion, which for the world, he was content for a time to tolerate. How did *Q. Mary* pay *Crammer* and *Ridley*, for pleading so hard to the King, that she might haue a Masse. Men must not thinke, first to serve their owne turnes, and then to serve Gods turne; to goe on with policie (making religion dance attendance to it, which indeed should serve religion) is to set the Asse upon Christ, and not Christ upon the Asse. The disturbance, and distraction, of the *Germanes*, which weakeneth them exceedingly against the common enemy; ariseth especially from the toleration of diversitie of religion. No thing (as one saith well) doth more combine the minds of men together, then unitie of religion: and nothing more dis-ioyneth them, then diversitie of religion. And it were good (me thinke) for the united *Provinces*, to make up their union with unitie of religion. And I may say boldly upon my former grounds, made good by instances, that they indanger themselves most by toleration of diversitie of religion. Besides the multitude of idols in their houses, whereof they make no bones, (though thereby they keep life in Poperie) what a confused chaos of heresies, what a State renting breach of Schismaticall divisions, with a hotch-porch of opinions are to be found with them; wherein to their blemishes they are holden the *Antesignans*, or ring-Leaders through the world; so that it is growne to a proverbe, *If a man had lost his religion, he might find it at Amsterdam*. Which proverbe, I think may rather be inverted thus: *If a man bring any religion to Amsterdam, he had best take heed he loose it not*.

for reason and experience makes this position good; that a place of opposition is not so dangerous to Religion, as that place where for Religion, every man may doe what he list. They must not think that their manner of government, or necessitie of trading, or any other thing, will serue to tolerate this toleration, against the Law of God and nature: the office of the Magistrate, the example of the enemy, and the evill ensuing on it, I wish they may obserue and ponder; together with the aim of their cruel enemy, (who looketh for more advantage out of this evill, then out of any other thing.) Where there be many Apes, there be but a few men: Many weeds, a little corn: So a small deale of true religion, where is so much diversity of religion. Where there is a *Cachexia*, or evill habite of humours, there is but a little good bloud; so an evill habit of corruption, taketh away the life of true Religion, in which indeed consisteth the life of true policy. I pray God they may look to it; and that he would open our hearts from the head to the foot, to look to it at home, where Popery is as freely practised, as if it had publique toleration, and that by connivency, which God will not winke at.

And because matching with Idolaters, setteth up the greatest gate to idolatry; and by consequence layeth us open to Gods heavy wrath, as God himselfe doth witnesse: *They Deut. 7. 4. will turne away thy sonns from following me, that they may serue other gods: so will the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and destroy you suddenly;* We must shut that floud-gate if we will not haue the plague come in and consume us. I wonder how men can hold up their faces to speak for such Matches. They are first flatly against the Word, *be not une-* 2 Cor. 6. 12 *qually yoked*; which the Doctors of Doway quote in their Marginall note upon *Levit. 19*, to condemn all matches with schismaticks and hereticks: For confirmation whereof they cite *Theodore*. Secondly, the Lord taxeth such Matches as a high measure of sin, instance in *Ahab*, of whom it is said;

1 King 16.
31.

Intravit Sa-
banas in cor
eius Math.
Westmona-
steriens pa.
156.

2 Chr. 28.9

Ex lib. fa-
cile dicto-
rum. Com-
mentar.
Æne Silvii
d. dictis ac
factis Al-
phonf.

as if it had been a light thing to have walked in the waies of his father, hee took to wife Iezabel who served Baal. Thirdly, of the evill effects of these Matches; we need not goe no further then our own Nation. It is reported in our Histories of *Vortigern*, who *Anno 450*, at the perswasion of *Hengist*, brought in a multitude of Saxons, and marryed *Romen* daughter to *Hengist*: of whom it is said, that the devill entered into his heart; because, being a Christian by profession, he matched with an Infidel, which was a plague to himselfe, and his, and all the whole Nation. As for that *Country-gentleman Moderator*, I will say no more but this, that he maketh a pretty shew, if there were no Bible: but of the two places he quoteth thence, the last marreth all that he hath done: For sure it was a part of *Dauids* admonition to *Salomon*, that in seeking the Lord he should shun and abhor all *Idolatrous Matches*; for *David* hated all those that held of superstitious vanity. And as *Salomon* forsook the Lord in this crossing Gods command, and his fathers counsell, so he and all *Israel* smarted for it. I am sure that this place well understood, and well applyed, is worth all the rest that he hath said: Yea, if his moderation be but laid in the balance, with principles of humane policie, it will be found lighter then vanity: And if he know no more of the Spaniards nature, practise and projects against us, then he hath delivered, he is but a *Country Moderator* indeed. I would but intreat him to take notice of the judgement, of as wise, as great, and as good a King as any lived in his age; concerning matching with the Spanyard. *Lewis* the 12, of France, who for his goodnesse was called *pater patria*, being much importuned by *Anne* his Queen, to match his daughter *Claudia* (after wife to *Francis* of *Valois*) to *Charles* the fifth, son to *Maximilian*, made this wise answer, *You may as well desire* (saith he) *the Cat and the Mause to agree in one*, intimating thereby (saith the Authour) that it was impossible for the Spanish and the French at any time to agree; and all men know

know it is lesse possible, for many respects, for the English and Spanish to agree, especially as things goe now. If he would peruse *Guicciardine* but a little; whom he citeth for their prayse, he might see the Spanyard painted out in his colours; as also in other Histories, both forreigne and domestick, as in their pride, Atheism, Cruelty, Filthinesse, Fidefragie, Avarice and Beggary: yea, in one of their own Writers, that *they are loved of no Nation*; and yet we must dote upon them. I was taken thus off the way a little, by reason of this occurrent, but desiring of God, that that Match may never be, I return to conclude the point against Toleration, with that threatning of Christ against the Angels of the Churches of *Pergamus* and *Thyatira*, if they suffered any longer the doctrine of *Balaam* and *Iezabel*, which he hated, *he would come against them, and gine them according to their workes*: So indeed will he doe with all, both Ministers and Magistrates, that tolerate false Religion. Rev. 2. 11.

CHAP. XL.

Of the moderation of the Conquerours passions, and of his Temperance.

I Come now to the second particular of the Conquerours carriage; namely, the moderation of himselfe, which brancheth out it selfe in these two things; the moderation of *μετριο- his passions*, and temperance in the use of things: in the com- *παθια και mand of these*, doth a man conquer himselfe, which indeed *ασιλγια* is the greatest conquest: for what shall it profite a man to overcome all others, and to be a slave to himselfe, that is, to his own corruptions: but if a man can overcome himselfe he

cannot be conquerd. Where the soule is free (saith Plato) and is the Commandresse of the Passions, there is the bravest victory.

Vincere posse hostes, haud parva est gloria regni;

At se posse ipsos vincere, maior ea est.

To conquer foes, its glory great to Kings;

Themselves to conquer, greater glory brings.

That speech of Claudian to Honorius the Emperour, is worthy the noting; where he sheweth him, that if he could conquer from one India to another, and all the world should obey him; yet if he should obey his inordinate passions, as fear, lust, and wrath, he were no free man.

-----tunc omnia iure tenebis

Cum poteris rex esse tui.

Then holdst thou all by right,

Whilst King th'art of thy selfe.

In a word, as Seneca saith; He overcommeth twice, that overcommeth himselfe.

Rhodig li. 6
cap. 26.

γνῶθι σε-
αυτον.

Excesse of passion was a foule blemish to Phillips victory, vaunting himselfe of his great victory at Cheronea, over the Grecians, he grew to such a height of pride, that Archidamus Agiselaus his sonne, took him wisely down with this cooler; That he could not see his shadow to be any longer after the victory, then it was before the victory: A fit answer indeed; for this exorbitancy of passion is from want of knowledge of a mans selfe. That divine Oracle should ever be with us, Know thy selfe. Augustus Caesar, Severus, and other Heathens, were so eminent in this excellent Motto, that it commended them more then all their victories: and though they had but the rules of nature; and meer Morality to direct them; yet they may make many a one blush that liveth under the light of the Gospell. Charles the Great, was not so truly great, from that Majesty and Dominion wherein hee excelled, as from that care hee had, that hee and his, should behaue themselves worthy of so great victo-

victories; as may appeare by a speech worthy of himselfe,
 made to his souldiers after the victory in that long war
 against the Lombards and Saxons; wherein he calleth his ^{Heroes vo-}
 souldiers by the name of *Nobles, and Kings fellowes*, and wil- ^{ebimim, &}
 leth them to carry themselves as Kings over their owne ^{socii regum.}
 corruptions, and that they should not deface that glory
 gotten in war by drunkenesse, scurrilitie or beastlinesse, of
 which if they should keepe themselves unspotted and car-
 rie themselves toward women, and orphanes, as became
 generous spirits, he would not onely maintayne them, but
 he would also account injurie done to them as *Les-majestie*
 against himselfe: but if they should let loose their raines
 to disorder, they should turne their glory into shame, and
 his bounty into punishment. I would haue all conque- ^{Aeneas Sil-}
 rours, both Generalls and souldiers, to take a patterne out ^{vius lib. 2.}
 of this. To this I may add that carriage of *Fredericke the* ^{Commentar}
Emperour, after his victory over the *Gunztans* in Hun- ^{de rebus}
gary: *Wee haue done a great worke* (saith he) *my souldiers; but* ^{gestus.}
their remaineth a greater; namely, to overcome our selves ^{Alphonsus.}
by bridling our avarice, and desire of revenge. ^{Rom. 12. 21.}
 Question.

To apply with the Author, had the now Emperour and
 his, learned of him, the blood and outrage of their victories,
 had not made so loud a cry in Gods eares, as at this day it
 doth. It is a good rule for conquerours; *be not overcome of* ^{Applicatio}
evill, but overcome evill with good: And it were a greater glo- ^{Rom. 12. 21.}
 ry for some to conquer their passions, rather then Pulpits.

To come to later times, *Lewes the 12.* was eminent in
 this vertue; and *Henry the 4.* of France, is for this much
 extolled in a Poem by *Stephanus*. And not to detract from
Generall Norice, it was the crown of his commendation,
 wherein it is said that *Henry the 4.* did not disdain to emu-
 late him. If a question here be put, whether *Christians* may
 rejoyce in the victories over their enemies or not I answer,
 all things concurring to make the victory lawfull, without
 question they may rejoyce in their overthrow, especially as

Psal. 58. 11 they are Gods enemies. The just shall rejoyce when he seeth the
12. vengeance, and he shall wash his feete in the bloud of the wicked,
Pro. 11. 10. and when the wicked perish there is shouting ioy: But this must be
as they are the enemies of God, therefore the heauen & the
earth, and all therein, are said to sing for ioy, at the spoyling
of easterne *Babylon*; because shee had caused the slaine of
Ier. 51. 48. *Israel* to fall. So at the fall of western *Babylon*, beyond her in
49 impietie and crueltie; heauen, and all the holy host, shall reioyce
Rev. 18. 20 ouer her, when God shall avenge them upon her.

The second branch of selfe-government, consisteth in the
temperate use of such effluence of things, as in their con-
quests many times they meete with all; as the beautie and
bravery of their captive woemen, the delicacie of their fare;
for this *Scipio* was much commended, and it was great
Alexander his greatest grace, that he would not so much
as look upon his captives, the wife and daughter of
Darius, but with good deliberation. But his last did not
answer the first: for after that he had overcome all,
he was overcome of cups, which marred all, and lost him
more glory then ever he got. Drunkenesse in a King is a
capitall sin. As the corruption of a fish beginneth at the
head, and so goeth through the body; so the drunkenesse of
a King maketh the land reele, and therefore woe to the land
whose King is a drunkard. *Philip* after his victory, falling foule
on cups, began in his drinke to insult ouer his Greeke cap-
tives: but *Demades*, a captive, tooke him boldy up; thus, *Art*
not thou King Philip ashamed, whom the Grecians haue chosen Gene-
rall, as another Agamemnon, to shew thy selfe like a bibbing Ther-
sites? at which freedome of speech, *Philip* taking up him-
self, and not his captive, cast his Crowns and Garlands from
his head, and his rich robes from his backe, and for very
shame and sence of disgrace, done to himselfe, by himselfe,
did set free *Demades*, and all the rest of the Greeke captives.
Behold in this a looking-glasse for great ones, how incident
it is to them to err especially in puffing-up victories; but it

is more then Princely to correct themselves at the checke of their vassals. Wee haue too many *Philips* forgetting themselves, and their places in their carriage of successe, but too few *Philips* humbling themselves with shamefastnesse, when by their inferiours they are rebuked. The delights and delicacies of proud and luxorious *Capua*, wherewith *Hanibal* was taken, when he had taken the towne, did him more hurt then all the Romane forces. To this effect there is a pretty saying of *Hanibal*; that he being invincible by *Armes*, was overcome with the pleasure and plenty of the place. *Asia* undid *Alexander*, and *Iulius Caesar* was slaine with good successe: for as Authors observe, he being capable of all things, and fortunate in every thing, grew so insolent of his victories, that usurping the priest-hood, he would needs be Deified; he spoyled the treasure, and growing sacrilegious: perfidious, and lustfull, he ruled all by lust, and not by law.

*Hanibalem
armis invic-
tam volupta-
te vicit, &
enervavit
Capua.*

Sueton.

Now I proceed to the third maine thing; namely, their carriage toward the conquered. First, they must shew humanitie, in *humando corpora captivorum*, in giving the slaine to be buried, or causing them to be buried. To that end, the Armies entered conditions, as Authors mention. *Appion* recordeth how *Asdrubal*, at the request of *Scipio* did bury the bodies of the *Tribunes*. It was an evidence of yeelding amongst the *Grecians*, if they demanded their bodies to be buried. It was counted (as *Tacitus* writeth in his Annalls) great crueltie in *Tiberius*, to forbid the buriall of the dead, with whom the cruel brood of Rome deserveth to be ranked, and that in the first place; who not onely deny the buriall of the dead, but with all inhumane abuses doe injurie the bodies of the dead: they come nothing short in this of the old typical *Babel*, hindering (as the Psalmist saith) the buriall of the Saints bodies, giving them to be meat to the fowles of the *Psal. 79. 2.* heauen, and their flesh unto the beasts of the earth, but the Lord will one day (as it is there) render them, seven-fold into their bosome.

So

Alex. ab
Alex. lib.
4. pag. 2. 3.

Secondly, they must not envie their captives but as they are Gods enemies, and so they must hate them with a perfect hatred. It is reputed as a foule fault in the Athenians, and Lacedemonians (otherwise the bravest souldiours in the world) that they hated captives with an irreconcilable hatred, which was in the end their onely overthrow.

Quam bonus est odor hostis mortui.

Lib. 2. hist.
Hanibal
Scotus.

Thirdly, they must not, like vulturs, or Harpies, reioycingly glut themselves in the sight of bloud-shed, as the Dragon and the scarlet whore of Rome doth; shee must be drunke with bloud, ere shee bid hold, or say it is enough. Instances of this unquenchable bloud-thirst in them, I could give you to many; take the carriage of Charles the 9, in the massacre of Paris, for a scantling of the rest: Beholding the bloody bodies of the butchered professors, and feeding his eye upon a woefull spectacle, he breathed out this bloody speech: *how good is the smell of the dead enemy; which speech it seemeth he had from that beastly and cruell Vitellius, who having overcome Otho, went into the field full of slaine bodyes, & notwithstanding (as Tacitus saith) of the fearfull spectacle, & filthy corrupt smell; yet delighting in it, he used the same saying, that a slaine enemy smelled well, but a slaine subiect better.* Tyrants must haue bloud though it be of their subiects. Yet for all this crueltie unbecoming a man, much more a King towards his subiects, that furie of France wanted not a popish helhound, to commend his crueltie in a set oration: but as he lived a man of bloud, so he made a bloody end. Another instance we haue in Queen mother, of the house of Guise (who was the contriver of the Parisian massacre) shee confessed that *shee delighted in nothing so much, as in the slaughter of Professors of the Gospell, although they were her owne subiects.* To these we may joyne our owne Queene Mary who could never be satiated with the bloud of her subjects, yea shee had preyed on the life of her owne sister, if the Lord had not restrayned her: and which is mounstrously unnaturall, shee meant if shee had lived, to haue taken up her fathers bones and burned

ned them. In this, popish Rome is worse then heathen Rome, who had written in their *Capitol* for moderation of victory; *parce victis, frange superbos, spare the conquered, and bring under the proud.* *Epaminondus* may be a patterne to all in this; who hauing reioyced for his victory at *Luētris*, came forth the next day amongst his souldiers, all euill put on, and with a sad countenance; the cause whereof being demanded by his friends; *I did please my selfe too much (said he) yesterday, with conceit of the victory; but thinking on the blood that is shed, I chastise my selfe to day.* *Agiselaus*, after his great victory at *Corinth*, seeing a great number of *Corinthians* and *Athenians* lying flaine, was so far from reioycing or growing proud of the victory, that in sorrow he cryed out; *Woe is me for Greece,* Plutarch. in Lacon. *who in ciuill combustions hath lost so many brave souldiers, as might haue conquered all the barbarians,* Malo unū cūdem ser- (for so they termed other uare, quam nations.) It was a frequent, and a worthy saying of *Antonius Pius*, for the which *Capitolinus* commendeth him much, mille hostes occidere. *that he had rather save the life of one subiect then kill 1000 enemies.*

Fourthly, they must not abuse the conquered captive, detracting from him, and taking arrogantly to themselves that which doth not become them. This did cruell *Adonibezek*, who cut off the Thumbes of 70 Kings, and made them gather their meate under his table like Doggs. So *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, caused four Kings to waite on his table. *Sesostris* had his chariot drawen with Kings; and *Tamarlan* carried *Bajazet* about with him in an iron cage. That dishonorable & hatefull contempt, done upon the supposed body of *James* the fourth (found dead, as they said, in the field of *Floudon*) was both voide of generositie & humanitie: but because he tooke Armes against *Iulius* the second, his usage could not be bad enough. Yea *Thomas Howard*, Earle of *Surry*, Commander of the field, being puffed up with the glory of the day, forgot his distance exceedingly in the adding to his Armes; for where before he gaue the white Lyon, he gaue it then upon the red Lyon, tearing him as it were with his

Rev. Scoti-
car. lib. 13.
pag. 422.

Bartholo-
meus Cha-
saneus in
Catalog.
glorie mū.
di. Pars 9.
19. Confid.
in fine.

slaves. But this his insolencie is thought to have been pla-
gued in his posteritie, whose ends for the most part, and that
in both sexes were stigmatized with some note of disgrace.
Borbon and *Lanoy* carried themselves more noblie toward
Francis King of France, being taken at the battle of *Pavia*:
for supper being prepared; *Lanoy* and *Alphonfus Vastius* did
serve the King with *Bason* and *Ewer*; both they, and *Borbon*
could hardly be intreated to sit downe, but still they desired
to attend him at supper. The like, or greater generositie, was
shoven by Prince *Edward*, the mirror of man-hood, towards
King *Iohn* his captive, before whom he stood uncovered, and
would hardly be intreated to sit down at supper.

Fiftly and lastly, they are to keepe quarters with captives
being taken. For to cast off prisoners, and put them to the
sword is against the lawes of Armes; though Turkes and Pa-
pists make no bones of this amongst the rest of their cruelties;
yet far be it from any so to doe, that professeth Christ
truely. And thus much for the conquerors carriage towards
the conquered.

Amongst many motives that I might giue for this mode-
ration, take onely this, that the conquerour sometimes may
come to stand in neede of the conquered, who as they will
remember moderate usage, and repay it with good; so they
will requite tyranny with evill. Historians tell us how the
Lacedemonians, the great *Masters of Armes* through all the
world, having so great an overthrow at the battle of *Luc-
tris*, that they were forsaken of all their confederates, and
had no refuge but to betake themselves to the *Athenians*,
against whom they had warred, and whose Walls they had
raysed; yet for all this they received them very lovingly.

The fourth main thing followeth, how to demean
themselves in the use of the goods or possessions of the con-
quered. It is true, that the spoyle is theirs, but the good
creatures of God they must not spoile. The Lord giveth a
strait charge against this in *Deut*: When thou shalt lay siege to

a cittie and take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof, and thou shalt not cut them down; onely that which is not for meate thou mayest cut downe. By this prohibition God restrayneth the waste, and spoyle which souldiers usually make in warre; and teacheth them thereby, that there is a kind of mercy to be manifested toward the creatures, specially those that serve for the maintenance of mans life. This respect had Christ to the creatures, when he caused his disciples to take up the broken meate, after the people had eaten and were filled, that nothing should be lost. It is reported of the Danes, that with such crueltie and outrage, they made havocke of all where they came, that they seemed not so much to conquer the land, as to consume it; not so much to possesse it, as to race out the remembrance of it. 10.6.12.

Now I come to the last main thing required in the conqueror, namely his carriage towards his own. That Generall will never deale well with his enemies, nor get glory to himselfe, that dealeth evill with his owne. As they haue bought the victory with their bloud, and the hazard of their lives; their is no reason but they should be both commended and rewarded. It was the custome of the chiefe Commander (as all our ancient writers do record) after the victorie, to go up to some pulpit, and there with a solemne oration to commend the souldiers, according to every mans place, worth, and present service; neither was that enough, barely to commend or giue thē thanks, but with their prayse they distributed divers gifts. Is it equitie or conscience that all should fight, and one, or a few, carry away the spoyle? David was of a more equall mind, who did not onely willingly divide the spoile of the Amalekites, to those that were in the fight; but also gaue the 200 weake and wearyed ones a share that stayed by the stuffe; and that was made a statute and an ordinance for Israell, as his part is that goeth to the battle, so shall his part be that tarryeth by the stuffe: neither was there any wrong done to those wicked men who grudged at it: for, Salustius.
Tacitus.
Livius.
Amain.
Polyb.
1. Sam. 30.
24.

first, they wanted not will, but power to goe to the battle: Secondly, they stayed by the stuffe to keep it, as necessary a peece of service as to fight, and that with as great danger as those that fought, if they had been overcome: And lastly, they had but a *Geometricall* share, not an *Arithmetically*, or equall with the other. The like instance you haue in *Moses*, who according to Gods commandement, divided the spoile of the Madianites (on whom the Lord had avenged himselfe) amongst the souldiers and the people. This continued as a Law, and was observed by the *Macchabees* when they got any spoyle. So that you see it is the Lords own Ordinance; besides, reason and equity, doth enforce it.

Numb. 31.

27.

2 *Macch. 8.*

28.

1 *Sam. 30.*

23.

*Quod non-
dum dede-
rat, se non-
dum credit
habere.*

*Front. l. 4.
cap. 1.*

Amongst many other reasons for this enduring ordinance, *David* giveth a speciall one, which I would haue Commanders to obserue; namely, that the spoyle is of the Lords giving: *You shall not doe so my brethren with that which the Lord giveth us.* Obserue here that *David*, the Generall, saith not, *giveth me*, but *giveth us*. Should one man, or a few, take that to themselves, that God giveth to all? No surely, *David*, out of doubt, as many braue Generals had wont, kept little or nothing to himselfe. *Alexander* the Great reserved onely hope; and our braue Generall *Norice* was like that Bishop of *Lincolne* (a black Swan now,) *that never thought he had that thing, which he did not giue.* The defrauding of souldiers of their shares of the spoyle, was severely punished amongst the Romans. *Marcus Salinator*, a man of Consular dignity, was condemned by the people for unequall division of the prey to the Souldiers. The wrong in this done to the souldiers, when service is performed, maketh souldiers so loose in the performance of their service; where if they had but hopes of better respect, and assurance of place and recompence upon their desert, it would encourage them many times to stand to it brauely to death, when they mind nothing indeed but shifting for their life. That speech which

which I related of *Charles* the Great, to his souldiers; the warre being ended, together with his bounty towards them; shewed him truly to be great. Those that will haue all to themselves, must fight all by themselves: Souldiers are out of request when their service is done. It was a pretty saying, and very true, of Generall *Vere* to the King of *Denmarke*; that Kings cared not for Souldiers, untill such time as their Crowns hung on the one side of their head. It was the sad complaint of *Georgius Fronsbergius*, a braue Captaine, and one who had well deserved, both under *Maximilian* the 1, and *Charles* the 5, and yet being much neglected and forgotten: Three things, said he, did terrifie a man from a military life; the spoiling of harmlesse men, the godlesse, and dissolute life of the souldier, and the neglect of those who had well deserved. The times are partly come, and are yet to come, that a good souldier will be worth the making on. Yea, let those who looke to liue in safety, and to die with honour, make much of them. There be such an Antipathie betwixt some and Armes, that the very sight of a souldier, the ordering of Armes, the sound of a Trumpet, or beating of a drum are as terrible to them, as thunder was to *Caligula*: others againe loues Souldiers, but onely to make use of them: In the most of this unhappy age, the esteem of Souldiers (be they never so worthy) dies and liues with the necessity of their service; the causes whereof are, under-valewing of merit, and unthankfulnesse. But States must beware, if they will be safe, not to use their souldiers, as the Athenians used *Themistocles*, of whom he said wittily; That they now used him like the *Plantain* tree, of which they made both their drinking cup, and their chamber-pot; they shook him off, and set him on at their pleasure, when they stood in need of him: But he told them at last, that he could not like those men, that would first drink out of a vessell, and then make their water in it. My counsell is to the *United Provinces*, that they would cast back their eye upon the pit, out of which their

laudat homines, qui eodem vase pro calice & matula utuntur
Ælian. l. 13 de var. Hist.

life, wealth, and dignity are digged; which is not the depth
nor hell, (as that Popish pamphletter suggesteth) but the
bloud of the valourous Brittain; for the which, the Nati-
on should be precious in their eyes: if *Xerxes* held *The-
mistocles* (on bare hopes of service) to be his rarest Jewells;
how should they esteem of Brittain, which to them hath
been a field of precious, and profitable Jewells; whose
worth they can never valew? Therefore as I would haue
them not to slight the Nation, so I wish they may abandon
all neglect and dis-esteem of the souldier: For generous
spirits looks for answerable respect; yea, they who sow in
bloud, looks to reap at least in honour, and account. As
Themistocles left Greece at length, upon continuance of bad
usage: So I hope they will take heed, that no such usage
from them, shall provoke their best friends to forsake them.
And so much for the carriage of the Conquerour.

CHAP. XLI.

The carriage of the conquered in Generall.

NOW I come to treat of the behaviour of the con-
quered; to whom I must confesse, it is easier to give
counsell, then to undergoe the burthen: and rules of di-
rections are sooner given in this case, then taken. A tem-
pestuous storme (as the Poet saith) may countermand the Art of
the best Navigator, and put the stoutest Master from the Helm.
Yet for all this, in this greatest evill, there is matter to ma-
nifest the greatest magnanimity: there is more worth and
valour in suffering, then in doing: Vnto you, saith the Apo-
stle, it is given, not onely to belecue in him; but also to suffer for
his sake, Were not our glorious Martyrs the greatest Con-
querours?

*Vincitur
ars vento,
nec jam
moderator
habenis uti-
tur.
Ouid. lib. 3.
Festor.
Philipp. 1.
29.*

querours? It is a great grace for a conquerour to carry, even the cup of victory: but a greater glory for the conquered to drinke the dregs of Martiall displeasure, or of his enemies triumph, with undaunted magnanimity. *It is some solace* *Victis solatio est, virtute praedat.* (as the saying is) *to be brought under by him, who is worthy to command:* And this gaue some ease to the heart of *Mithridates*, who after 50 yeares standing out, with the glory of many victories, at length was forced to yeeld himselfe and his, to the mercy of *Pompey* the great; yet contenting himselfe with this faire overture, *that it was no shame to be overcome of him, whom to overcome it was impossible.* But as it is not in a mans choyce whether he will be conquered or no; so likewise it is not in his choyce, by whom he will be conquered; and therefore he must fit himselfe to carry it well, *whosoever lay it on;* whether the enemy be like *Pirrhus*, contending onely with the Roman, who should command; or like the Samnite, contending with him who should survive, whatsoever it be, or by whomsoever, it must be borne; so that as the *Comick* saith, *it is the part of a man: not that a man should be taken, in this case, with a Stoicall insensibility, and quaffe away all care, and wit, with drinke and Tobacco; or cast himselfe fast a sleep with the opium of delights, or suffer himselfe to be charmed with the enchantments of solatious company, as though hee cared not what God had done to him, nor what he would doe with him;* this is to be under a double conquest, the latter whereof is the worser.

A man therefore vnder the yoke, must not onely suffer, but also doe, and devise how to redeem himselfe. To doe and not to suffer, is with the Lyon in the snare to struggle, or with the fish to wrastle in the net; but to suffer and not doe, is with the sea-calfe, to play and sport themselves when *all the wanes of God are going over them.* God often by the hand of the enemy, as by a Pursivant at Armes, fetcheth in bankrupt Tenants; that is, his own untoward or back-

sliding

sliding people; and leaveth them in the pursivants hand till they take some course to satisfie for the arrerages. If a man in that case take thought of nothing but strong drunke and Tobacco, a punke and ribauldrie, as sundrie in the *fleet* and *Marshalsey doe*, is he not like to ly long enough by it? yea, it may be while all his delights leaue him, and he haue neither inward nor outward comfort; and the more unsensible one is of such a case, it addeth the more to the miserie of his case. So when Gods people are in the hands of their enemies, they must consider where they are, and cast about what to doe. It is the lot of Gods people, that are left alive in the *Palatinate*, and *Bohemia*, to be under an *Aegyptian* captivitie; The Inheritance of God is laid wast and possessed by *Gebal*, *Amon*, and *Amalecke*; they haue consulted together against God and his anoynted, *that his name and the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.*

A great part of this woefull calamitie lyeth on their Princely cedars, who with their brāches are rooted up, & like a partridge they are hunted to and fro, so if it were not that God out of the waters hath rayfed a litle hill for them to rest upon, I know not whether *Kielah* and *Ziph*, would haue affoorded them any safe rest or no.

Now since all this is come upon your royall Majesties, & you, and yours, yet lying under, are the subject of the enemies insolencie, to you & yours giue me leaue to direct my speech in the application of this passage; (not but that I hope the rule of the word, the long experimentall knowledge of heavie affliction, & the great misery of your poore distressed subjects, hath caused you both, to lay to heart the affliction.) But this is further to intreat you to observe whence it is, looke about for deliverance, get you a habite of patience how to beare it, and be directed in some measure what use to make of it. Out of an earnest desire of deliverance to you & yours, & all Gods distressed people, I am bound to offer some rules to yours Majesties consideration, which no doubt

„doubt being followed wil work out your deliverance, and
 „therefore I presume they shall neither be grievous nor un-
 „profitable to your Majesties.

CHAP. XLII.

Of acknowledging the defeat to be from God.

TO begin then (with leaue) the conquered in the first place, are to look by whom they are conquered, or defeated; not I mean onely the secundary means; (for to that every one will look; every one will be sensible of that) but they must looke to God, as the first mover of it, the orderer of the means, and the accomplisher of it. As the Lord disposeth the victory to the one, so the foyle to the other. *There is no evill in the Cittie which the Lord hath not done.* *Actions* (saith Hanna) *are not directed without the Lord,* *hee killeth, and he maketh alive, hee maketh poore and rich, he bringeth low and lifteth up;* Yea, many times hee giveth his own inheriance, and his holy places, with the bodies of his servants, to be abused at the pleasure of their enemies. *Places* are so plentiful for this, that I could be infinite. The Lord is said *to se'l his people into the hand of Iabin;* he delivered them into the hand of Midian; & he sold them into the hand of the Philistims; when the Israelites were smitten, they acknowledged that the Lord had smitten them: *Wherefore hath the Lord smitten us to day before the Philistims?* That place of *Jeremy* is very remarkeable to this purpose. *I will scatter them* (saith the Lord of his people) *with an East Wind* before the enemy; *I will shew them the back and not the face in the day of calamity.* The lamentations of *Jeremy* are a whole field of such matter; *The Lord hath troden under foot all the*

- Ex. 2. 3. mighty men, hee hath swallowed up the habitations of Iacob, hee hath cut off the horn of Israel. The Prophet Esay to this purpose is most pregnant. Who gaue Iacob for a spoyle, and Israel to the robbers? Did not the Lord; hee against whom we haue sinned?
- Isa. 42. 24. Again, therefore I haue profaned the Princes of the Sanctuary, and haue given Iacob to the curse, and Israel to reproches. I haue given the dearly beloved of my soule into the hand of her enemies.
- Chs. 43. 28.
- Jer. 12. 7.

οτι δε γιν-
εσθαι εκ,
θεω, αμη-
χαμον α-
ποτρεψαι,
εκ, & δευ-
τοις δε λε-
γεται πε-
ρ εσθαι ε-
βελαι.

ασυμετρία

Lib. 8. de
reip.

The Heathens, men without God in regard of power, or Scripturall knowledge, haue been forced, upon their foyles, to confesse so much. *Mardonius* the Persian Generall, who stayed in Greece behind *Xerxes*, either to redeem his reputation, or to rid himselfe of his life by some desperate attempt, having lost all; was demanded by a certain Greek, how it came to passe that such a huge Army of Persians were consumed and brought to nothing by a handfull of Greeks; he answered very modestly and pertinently, *That that which God would haue done, none was able to avert, although men will not beleue those that tell them such things.*

Fond (and confused indeed) are the opinions of the Heathens, of diuers Sects, concerning the ruin of Kingdoms, and the overthrow of Princes. The *Stoicks* ascribe it to *Destiny*; the *Epicure* to *Fortune*; *Methodius* and *Cardanus* to *Planets*; *Aristotle* to an *asymetrie*, or *disproportion*: but *Plato* and *Pithagoras*, (to whom *Bodin.* assenteth) doe lay the blame on *Numbers*. And because some may wonder what should be the meaning of this last opinion, I will unfold it, so far as *Plato*, the chiefe maintayner of it, doth unfold himselfe. As in numerall notes in the strain of Musicke, there is a *Diapason*, which Art cannot transcend; so there is a *diapason*, or *ακμη*, that is, the *highest-period* of Kingdoms and Dominions, aboue the which they cannot passe. The place of it selfe is so obscure, that *Aristotle* in his fifth book of the Politicks, and 12 chapter, passeth it over: so doth *Proclus*, who illustrateth the other seven bookes with

notes, but doth not touch that. That opinion is much like to another saying of his, *That the conversions, or translations of Common-wealths, run by the course of nature.* It is true indeed, as Kingdoms haue their beginnings, increase and height; so they haue their declininges and their ruins. All that hath a beginning, hath an ending, and as Philo saith, *[the greater height of our ward happinesse that a people attaineth to, the lower is their fall.* As after an inundation the waters are dried up, so States are emptied of their fouds of prosperity to the very channell. Experience maketh good that of the Poet.

- - - - - sic omnia verti
cernimus, atque alias assumere pondere gentes,
concidere has - - - - -
Thus all things chang'd we see; some Kingdoms fall,
and some advanc't.

Yet for all this, these Philosophers, and Sects, are a ground, in giving the ground of this. But Daniel, a better Polititian then either Plato or Aristotle, giveth the true ground indeed: *Blessed (saith he) be the name of God for ever and ever: for he changeth times and seasons, he removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings.* That which Heathen Writers, Military men, and others, doe attribute to fortune; namely, events of battles, victories, and foiles, Daniel doth attribute to God. Caesar that great man at Armes, and man of great successe, was greatly deceived in the ground, when he gaue so much to fortune: *Fortune (saith he) in many things, but especially in military affaires may doe very much.*

*Naturales
sunt rerum
publicarum
conversiones.*

Dan. 2. 20.

*Mulum
tum in
omnibus re-
bus, tum in
re militari
potest for-
tuna.*

*Lib. 6. belli
Gallic.
applicatio*

It is not onely their fault (for they knew little better:) but it is more the fault of Professors, who know indeed the true ground, but in their carriage they doe not acknowledge the ground: they confesse the ground, but in their profession they follow not to the ground. Obserue a courtly complement, with us in England, wherein great Ones bewray their

faulti-

faultinesse; in this kind they denominate, the evill or good that befalls a man, or State, from fortune; *He hath a good fortune*, (say they) *his fortune is undone*: bee their meaning what it will, I would haue them, as *Austine* counsels them, to change their words; and (as the Apostle wills them) to use
 2 Tim. 1. 13 a sound forme of phrase, besecming Christian profession. *Mardonius* said well; It cannot be denyed, but all these foiles, and defeats, and outrages, and spoyles, and desolations, are of Gods own doing; but men will not beleene it applicatiuely, or runne the right way, though it be not onely bearen in their eares, but they see it cleerly with their eyes. Men in this are like the uncircumcised Philistims, who though they knew and confessed, that the hand of God was upon them for abusing the Arke; yet they would try whether, or not, it were by chance: Men thus called by affliction to see the hand of God in it, they are like unto *Samuel*, when God called him; they runne many other waies, before they run to God; they run to the bloudy cruelty of one; to the innaturallity of another; to the falshood under fellowship of the third; to the pusillanimity of the fourth; and lastly, to the conspiracie or concurrence of all the Crue against them, who haue vowed their destruction without a cause. It is lawfull and expedient to haue an eye to all those, and to view every one of them in their kind; but first of all we must look
 θεοῦ ἀλκι- to the sin-reuenging eye of God, and to his all-disposing hand
 προσημα. of the very least circumstance of our troubles. Hence it is that they are called the waues of God, and the arrowes of God; yea, God doth afflict his own, that they should see his hand in it, and seek to him for deliverance out of it. The Lord doth threaten, that he will be unto *Ephraim* as a Lyon, and to the house of *Iuda* as a yong Lyon; yea, he will teare and take away, and none shall rescue him. The Lord here in effect doth threaten to send such enemies against them, as like roaring, cruell and devouring Lyons, should tear them all in peeces: but the Lord is said to doe it, because without him,
 neither

neither foe, nor friend can doe any thing. But what is the end of this? Is it not that they might seek the Lord; *I will goe and returne to my place (saith he) till they acknowledge their offence, and seek my face; in their affliction they will seeke me early.* If a man be wounded, will he rather look at the sword, then at the man that gaue the blow? If a stone be cast at a man, will he like a dog, run to the stone, not looking to the hand that cast it? Or if it fall from a height, will he not look up to the place from whence it fell? When *Rebecca* felt that strange unusuall struggling of the two twins in her wombe (which prefigured the strife between the godlesse and the godly) to know the cause of this, she goeth unto the Lord; and she went to enquire of the Lord (saith the Text.) To him indeed in our troubles we should goe, since it is his doing. Heavie and dolefull was that message that *Samuel* had to *Eli*, insomuch that he feared to shew him the vision; yet *Eli* would haue it out of him, that he might know the Lords mind, which when *Samuel* had delivered, hee runneth presently to the ground from whence it was, and not to any by, or secundary, meanes by which it might be brought to passe; for the Lord wants no means to accomplish that which once hee doth determine: *It is the Lord (saith he) let him doe what seemeth him good.* He acquiesceth in the good will of God, and embraceth the judgement, though it were against himselfe and his: he, like a well nurtured child, kisseth the rod, though it were made for his own back. Then, in the name of the Lord, both King, and Queen, and subiects, take notice of this, that the hand of God is upon you, and upon us in you: it is the Lord that hath done it, and so let us all acknowledge. And thus much for the first particular.

Hos. 14.

Gen. 25. 22

1 Sam. 3. 19

CHAP. XLIII.

The mooving cause of the defeate is to be observed.

A Second circumstance of the conquereds carriage, consisteth in the inquiring and finding out of the moving cause of their overthrow: for though God be the efficient cause; yet there is a moving cause without him, that provoketh him to give his owne people into the hands of his enemies. It is a question moved in the Psalmes by David, *why dealeth the Lord thus, and thus with his people? why dost thou cast us off for ever? why doth thine anger smoke against the sheepe of thy pasture? why withdrawest thou thine hand? and why hast thou broken downe her hedges, so that all that they passe by the way doe plucke her grapes?* The Prophet answereth all these questions, by quitting God, and charging upon his people the cause of all this; namely, *their inquitie*. When in the 79 Psalm, he hath layd out the desolation of the holy temple, the bloody cruelties committed upon the bodies of his saints, their inhumanitie against the dead bodyes, the reproch they suffered, and Gods wrath against them (which was heavier then all the rest) he layeth downe their inquitie to be the cause of all; *remember (saith he) not our former iniquities against us; let they tender mercies speedily prevent us: for wee are brought very low. v. 8.* In all the places quoted from the booke of Iudges (wherein I haue shewed the overthrow of Gods people to be from God) you shall still see their sin laid downe, as the moving cause, provoking God to deale so with them: *and the children of Israel againe did evill in the sight of the Lord: so that this phrase of speech is made a preface to usher in the judgments of God.* This was the matter of *Abi-*

Psal. 94.

Psal. 80. 12

*Iud 4. 1. &
6. 11*

Abi-

sahs message to *Ieroboams* wife: *the Lord shall smite Israel as a reede is shaken in the water, and he shall roote up Israel out of his good land, and shall scatter them beyond the river; he shall give Israel up: and what is the cause? because of the sins of Iero-* 1. King. 14. 15. 16.
boam, who did sin and made Israel to sin. Where observe the sin of the King and his people, to be the cause of their ruine. This was prophesied of by *Samuel* to the people; *if you shall doe wickedly, you shalbe consumed, both you and your King; and so it came to passe indeed.* In a place of *Ieremie*, the Lord setteth downe the reason, why he would scatter his people with an east wind before the enemy; why he would shew them the backe, and not the face in the day of their calamitie, because saith he, *my people hath forgotten me.* And to Ier. 18. 17 conclude; the Prophet *Esay*, in the places quoted, layeth downe the same cause; for they would not walke in his wayes Cap. 45. 24 neither were they obedient to his law: *therefore he hath powred upon them the fury of his anger, and the strength of battel.* So in the other place; *thy first fathers hath sinned, & thy teachers* Cap. 43. 27 *haue transgressed against me: therefore, &c. I have prophaned the* 28. *Princes and haue giuen Iacob to curse and Israel to reproches.* The curse must alwayes accompany sinne, he spared not the soule of his beloved when they sinned; yea, nor the sonne of his loue, becomming surety for sinne: no prerogative exempts from wrath, but being in Christ; witnesse Gods protection concerning *Ieconiah*, the last and the worst of the line of Iudah. As *Eliue*, saith the Lord, *though Coniah, the sonne of Iehoiakim King of Iudah, were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence.* Ier. 22. 24

Iosephus deploring the unparalleled calamitie of his owne nation of *Iudea*, layeth downe the cause of their utter desolation; namely, the abominable impietie and iniquitie of the Princes and people; which were growen to such a height, that every one, in their place, did strive to out-strip another; in so much that if one should haue gone about to haue devised some new sin, there was no place for him, they were all growne so cunning.

A fear-

De bello Iudaic. lib. 7. cap. 28.

Applicatio

Ibidem lib.
6. cap. 16.Gulielm.
Neabrigens.
rtr. Angli-
car. lib. 3.
cap. 14.Ne te que-
sieris extra.

Lam 3 40

A fearfull and incorrigible case, and yet (woe is us) no worse in a manner then our owne is; though wee will not know it: the fearfull things, giuen out of this nation, both for sin and judgment may make our eares to tingle, and our hearts to tremble; yea as the same Author reporteth, and that in grief of heart, that if the Romanes had not come against them to execute the fierie wrath of the Lord upon them, he thought a new deluge would haue swallowed them up with the old world; or fire from heauen would haue consumed them with Sodome; for (saith he) *they exceeded eyther of their sinnes*. The like is related by one of our owne Authors concerning the last loosing of *Hierusalem* to the *Saracens* under *Saladine* their Commander. When the Christians had kept it 80 yeares, after the recovery of it by *Godfrey* Duke of Bullion, the height of their iniquities whereto they were come, did so ascend in Gods presence, and made such a shrill cry in his eares, that he cast them out againe, making their civill dissention, serve for the *Saladines* advantage. So that you see the cause is within our selues: wee *neede not seeke it without*: it is not in God; for he delighteth to do good to his people: nor is it in the wicked; for he hateth them as they hate both him and his people: it is not in the creature of what kind soever; for he made it good, and he loveth every thing as the workmanship of his hands: *It is then the sin in our bosome, or our bosome sin that maketh him deale thus with us*. As sin doth separate the soule from God; so it often separateth the whole person from Gods house, from country, from wife, and familie, from King from subject; and from what not? Therefore in this our separation, wee should search our sin, and every man know *the plague of his owne heart which hath made the Lord to plague us*. Search your selue (saith the Prophet) and turne unto the Lord.

But herein wee are all faultie; men eyther search not at all, or they search as though they desired not to find; they search, as *me doe for their bade mony*, they know they haue it

it but they would gladly haue it passe for currant amongst the good money. Lastly, they search not for that which especially they should find out. It was a very pertinent question of the Israelits when 4000 were smitten by the Philistins: *Wherefore hath the Lord smitten us to day before the Philistims?* 1. Sam. 4. 3. But their answer was not answerable. O (say they) *let us fetch the Arke of the covenant that it may come among us, & saue us out of the hand of the enemy.* What, were they smitten because the Arke of the covenant was not among them? So they conceived, and would conceive no better: but the truth was, their sinnes had caused the God of the covenant to depart, he went not out with them, *Samuel* went not with them: these were they that laid both the Arke and themselves in the mouth of the Philistin: and yet these were they, that they never suspected till the battle was lost, wherein 30000 were slaine, their Priests were gone, *Eli* his necke broken, and which was worste of all, the Arke of God was taken; Then they began in their calamitie to call a new quest of inquirie, to make a new search, and to find out this execrable thing, namely, their sin, for the which (as it is said) all the hoast of 1. Sam. 7. 1. Israel lamented before the Lord. The like neglect, wee may behold in the people of Israel going against *Beniamin*. The first day they lost 22000; they lament indeed, and looke about them what should be the matter: but they go the wrong way; they fall to doubt of their commission, as though there had been some fault in that; they supposed they could not prosper, because they had lift up their hand against their brethren, although God had bid them doe it: but there was another matter in it, that they were not a ware of, *that was their sin*, which questionlesse God did punish by those two overthrowes: First they were altogether become corrupt and abhominable in their courses & worship of God; in-
somuch that (as the Lord speaketh) *every man did what seemed good in his owne eyes.* It is true, when they heard of the beastly and abhominable act of killing of the *Levits* wife under
O o
their

their filthy lust, their hearts rose against it, they would be avenged on all the whole tribe, if the transgressors were not delivered. This was all well, but this was not all; they should haue begune at home, and purged themselves of spirituall uncleannesse, and other sinnes that doe accompany that, and then they had been fit to haue punished the beastlineffe of the *Beniamits*. Againe, for number they were so many, and the other not a gleaning to them, that they made no question of the victory; so that they thought it needlesse to seeke to God (by humbling of themselves) for a good successe. But God for those met with them, and set them in the right way ere he had done with them: for when after the second defeat, they got sight of their sin, and humbled themselves for it; by fasting and praying they received a better answer, with assurance of the victory.

Applica-
tion.

„ Now give me leaue to applie (and that in all humilitie.)
 „ The ground of your enterprise was good; the commission
 „ faultlesse; and the end (for any thing I know) upright;
 „ yea, and the enemy Gods enemy; yet for all this, thus far
 „ they haue prevayled, and doe prevaile: the cause (I feare) is
 „ want of reformation at home, and it may be too much pre-
 „ suming of worldly forces and friendship, which the Lord
 „ would haue to prove no better then a broken reede. If the
 „ commission be good, and the parties disable themselves
 „ from the execution of it, what fault is in it, or in him that
 „ gaue it out. As it is far from me to charge any thing upon
 „ any mans conscience; so I intreate every man to charge his
 „ owne conscience, as *David* did, and say, *I am the man*. A ge-
 „ nerall view or search will not serue: for so long as men keepe
 „ themselves at *generals*, they never find out that in them-
 „ selves, which most displeaseth God, but often mistake that
 „ to be no sin which is sinne, or that to be sin which is no sin.
 „ Men must not stay themselves in the *Procatartick*, or remote
 „ causes; but they must dive unto the *Proegumene* conjunct, or
 „ essential, & immediate cause. *Empyrickes* mistaking symptoms
 „ for

for the sicknesse it selfe, are fayerer to kill then to cure: so in finding out some petty sinnes, some never look at the main sinnes; like those that lop off branches of the tree, but never strike at the roore: and as by this pruning the trees grow bigger; so by daliance in search, all growes worse and worse: therefore to the *bosome sin*, the *darling sin*, the *seed-sinne*, that is deer as hand and foot, cut it off, and cast it away. Let every man be severest with himselfe, and favour himselfe not in the least sin: *that sin that hee least lookes after, and will not acknowledge to be sin, is commonly the capital sinne;* as taking liberty to profane the Sabbath; going to stage-plaies, scoffing precisenesse, pettie oathes, abuse of the creatures, & usury; these be Nationall sins, and set ope the gate to all other sins, and consequently to judgment. On the first, my heart giues me to dwell, if it were my place, and the Treatise would permit: for as it is the sin of Nations, so it is the capitall sin, though least thought on; the threatnings against the breach of this commandement, the promise annexed to the keeping of it, the backing of it with reasons, and fore-fronting of it with a *remember*, doe necessarily *Zacor.* imply all these lessons; as first, the antiquity of it, and the continuance of it, that as it was from the beginning, so it should be remembred to the end, *Gen. 2. 3*: secondly, it discovers the propensity of man to the light esteem of it, and to the breaking of it: thirdly, it shews, the greatnesse of the sin, *Ezech. 20. 12. 22*: fourthly, Gods great desire to haue it kept, calling it the *holy, honourable day, yea, and the delight of the Lord, Es. 58. 13*. All these cords will pull down inevitable judgements upon all the palpable profaners of this day, by their pleasures, or ordinary imployments, except they repent. This sin cries in England; and roares in Holland, where by open shops, and other works of their calling, they proclaim, with open mouth, their little regard of God, or his Sabbath. Iudgement likewise hangs over the head of all halvers of the Lords day, making it neither

Gods, nor theirs, but divide it: All Iewish translators of the Sabbath: all toleration from higher powers to profane it, at which we may *lay our hands upon our mouths*. But I hope the Parliament will redresse it: likewise on all that dare proclaime it from Pulpit, to bee onely a Ceremoniall Law; and that the rest now injoynd is a meer Civill Ordinance. The Papists presse this as a meer humane Institution in religious Worship. *Spalato*, a little before his departure, told a man in dispute with him, that *that Commandment was done away*. Many Libertine Ministers, and Prelats, in England, maintain the same in effect: and the worst of the Ministers of the United Provinces concur with them in this point: for though some presse the keeping of it; yet they urge it not as a divine Precept, but as a time appointed by a meer positive law for the worship of God; but this crosseth the nature of the commandement, being Morall; given from the beginning, before the Ceremoniall Law; written by Gods own finger; proclaimed to all the people to continue to the end. It substracts from the number of the Precepts, being ten, *Exod. 34. 18. Deut. 10. 4*, it oppugneth the practise of God, which is for a president to us: It is against naturall reason, and divine prerogative, that God should not have a solemn time appointed for his worship, and that he should not be the appointer of it. Hence it is, that not onely the Hebrews, but also all Greeks and Barbarians, did rest from work on the seventh day; witness *Iosephus, Clemens, Alexandrinus, and Eusebius*: lastly, it afronteth Christs institution, included in the very name of the day: Why is it called the *Lords day*, *Rev. 1. 10, 1 Cor. 16. 2*, is it not because it was appointed by the *Lord*, and to continue for the *Lord*? as the Sacrament, for the same reasons, is called *the Supper of the Lord*. To make an end of the point, let the Magistrates of London, and other parts, who have kept back their authority from sanctifying of the Sabbath, look to the end, fire is broke out already; but I fear if we will not hearken

hearken to *hallow the Sabbath of the Lord*, that the fire spoken of by *Jeremy* shall break forth in our Gates, and not be quenched till it haue devoured us. I might say much in this point, both by reason of the commonnesse of the sin, and plenty of matter against it, but I will onely say this: *Where there is no conscience of keeping of the Sabbath sincerely, they haue no ground to expect any good.* As for Stage-plaies, they are the devils chaire, the seate of Scorners, the plague of piety, and the very pox to the Common-wealth: but I haue a whole Treatise against them.

And as for the other sins mentioned, it is counted but Puritanism to count them sins; but so much the worse. As our Nation is a field of crying sins; so the cry of some sinns must not be discovered, but countenanced in a fearfull manner; who knows, but the things which we count trifles may be the speciall matter of our controversie with God? A little other fire then God had ordained might seem a small matter in the eyes of *indifferency*: yet it was such a sinne as made all Israel guilty, as appeareth by the sacrifices offered for that sinne, *Levit. chap. 16*; yea, it brought such a fire from the presence of the Lord, as could hardly be quenched. These sinnes therefore must be taken by the poll, and others of the like nature; as contempt of the Word, and hatred of Gods people: and they must be beaten to powder, with the Israelites Calse. Goe from a Tribe to a Family, from a Family to a house, and so to every man of the house, till the golden wedge be found out. We must not trust our wicked hearts with this work; for corrupt nature is blind as a beetle in the finding out of sinne; witnesse the Israelites, even then when all the plagues of God were comming upon them, they sayd; *What is our iniquity or sinne against God? Ier. 16. 10.* Princes and people had need of good Seers, whom they must suffer to shew them their sinne, that either they cannot find, or will not finde; such was *Nathan* to *David*: they must not count such, men of

contention, and busie-fellows, as the Iewes called *Jeremiah*; but our euill age doth not onely hide sinne, but maintaine sinne.

Niceph.
Calist. lib.
11. Cap. 40
Eccle. Hist.

There is also too much propensitie both in the bade, and also in the good, to palliate sin, & to transfer their troubles to other causes then to it. I remember that *Traian*, Generall to *Valence* the Emperour, that mirror of impietie, going against the *Gothes*, he was defeated in the very first battle; for which *Valence* upbrayded *Traian*, at a feast, with cowardize and sloth, as being the causes of the overthrow, but noble *Traian*, not enduring that indignitie, with freedome of speech told the Emperour in plaine termes, that he had lost the day; for you do so war against God (saith he, meaning his persecuting of Christians) that you abandon the victory, and send it to your enemies: it is God (saith he) that overcommeth, and he giveth the victory to those that obey him; but such are your adversaries, and therefore you haue God to fight against you; how then can you overcome? Here you may see a patterne of a wicked disposition well taken up, and the saddle set upon the right horse.

2. Sam. 11.
25.

And not onely doe such bloody monsters as this, shift off their calamities from their sinnes; but also Gods people, by falling in sin, and lying in sin, may be tainted with it; witness, *David* a man otherwise after Gods owne heart, yet tainted with this. Amongst the rest of his trickes of legerdemain, when he spun the spiders webbe of his implicit sin, this was one, to cover the murther of *Uriah*, he useth a principall, experimentally knowen; the sword deuoureth one as well as another; make thy battell more strong against the citie, and so overthrow it. *David* spake the trueth but not truely: for he knew that it was not common lot that had cut off *Uriah*, but his owne heart and hand, had caused him and others to fall; yet he would daube over a filthy peece of business with a litle white plaistring; but when once he was awaked, he was so far from daubing as that he chargeth himselfe more deeply with every circumstance, then any other could haue done;

done; *I am the man.* And after the numbring of the people: when his heart smote him, grieving at the punishment of the people, he taketh the whole sin upon him, and would cleere the people both of the sin and punishment: *Loe I have sinned, and I have done wickedly, but these sweep what haue they done? let thy hand I pray thee be against me, and against my fathers house.*

2. Sam. 24.

77.

CHAP. XLIIII.

NINE.

Of quitting God of all injustice.

A Third thing in the behaviour of the conquered, is this; since sin is the cause, they must quit God of all injustice, how heavy soever their burthen lye upon them. *David* quit-
teth the Lord of all injustice, if he should adjudge him to eternall death; so doth the people of God in the lamenta-
tions, being under the verie rod of his wrath; *The Lord is righteous; for I haue rebelled against his commandment.* By con-
demning of our selues, to acquit God, is the readiest way
to get an acquittance from God. Yea (as *Isidor* saith) let
a man learne not to murmur when he suffereth, although he were
ignorant for what he suffereth: let this suffice to tell him, that
he suffereth justly, because it is from him, that cannot deale but
justly. *Pompey* was herein exceedingly mistaken, who seeing
all to goe on *Casars* side, doubted not to say, that there was a
great deale of miste over the eye of diuine providence: for with
him that offered nothing but wrong, to the commo-wealth
all things went well; but with him that defended the com-
mon-wealth, nothing succeeded. But *Pompey* blamed the Sunne
because of his sore eyes. There be many in our age of *Pompey* his
saucie humor; yea arranter wranglers then he, because of
greater

Lament. 3.
18.De summo
bono, lib. 3.

greater light, and shewes of profession; who if their corruption be never so little crossed, or the Lord meet with them in the crossing of a way, they will grumble against God, as though he had done them wrong; or as though there were not in them, for the which the Lord might not onely cross them, but crush them; but let them know if they change not their note, the Lord will note them for his enemies, and thrust them out for wranglers.

CHAP. XLV.

Of humiliation for sin, and forsaking of it.

Fourthly, as the conquered seeth sin to be the cause of his euill, and therein cleareth the justice of God; so he must be humbled for sin, and so forsake it, that (God reconciled to him) may be on his side. It shall nothing prevaile men to see sinne as *Pharao* did, and never to mourne for it; or to mourne for it as *Achab* did, and not to forsake it. *Israel*, after their second defeat, humbled themselves, and mourned exceedingly. So *Iosua*, when the people that went up to take *As* fled before their enemies, and were smitten to the number but of 30 persons, fell on his face, mourned and cryed unto the Lord; but what meant *Iosua* (might some say) was this the courage of so great a Generall, thus to be daunted for the losse of 30 men? was that such a matter? might it not be a chance of war? no there was another matter in it. It was not the 30 men, nor 3000 that would haue so much dismayed *Iosuah*, he wisely fore-saw that all was not well at home, and therefore he would not on againe, till the matter was cleared, & the execrable thing was found out. To be briefe, the *Israelits* under the yoke of the *Philistims*, found out their

their sin, & mourned for it. It is said in their humiliation *that they drew water and poured it out before the Lord*, (that is) they shed teares abundantly before the Lord. *The roaring Goliaths of 1. Sam. 7.7* our age scorne a stone out of this running brook, to beat the brains out of their roaring sins: oh! mourne and cry: that is womanish. Well I am sure there was more true worth and valour in *Applicatio* in one litle *David*, then in all the roarers in *Ram-alley* or *milford-lane*; and yet he mourned, wept, and cryed, and roared for griefe of sin; but not as they doe.

For four things the people of God are to mourne, being *Four motives of mourning in Gods people defeated.* defeated: for their sin; because they grieved God by it: for the want of Gods presence: for making him depart from his inheritance: for the defacing of Gods glory, by the wicked in their ruffe. For the first: many will mourne; but rather for the punishment of sin then for the sin it selfe: whē the worm of conscience begins to knaw, & the terroures of hell present themselues to them, then they cry and roare as though hell roard for them; but they are just like Mariners, when the storme is ouer; or like fellows, they cry rather for the sentence giuen against them, then for the felony committed. And some will cry for their sin, but rather because it is hurtfull and shamefull, then for grieving of God by it; as if a man by his lewdnes cast into some loathsome disease, regrareth the sin, for the disease it hath brought upon him; and not because thereby he hath offended God: but *David* cryeth out, on himselfe and his sin, especially for the offence done to God by it; *against thee, against thee, onely haue I sinned, and haue Psal. 51.* done that which is euill in thine eyes. As for the want of Gods presence (so other things goe well with them) it is the thing that the most, least regard: but for the godly, they make more of it then of all the things in the world; yea nothing without this will suffice the godly: giue them this (with whatsoever) they can be content: the good things or hid treasure of this life will serve the wicked well enough, without this, many say, *who will shew us any good, (that is) for the belly, backe,*

possession, or height of ambition : but lift thou up over us the light of thy face (Iehovah :) for that is more joy to me then all the riches of the world wherein worldlings most delight. And herein is a main difference betweene the child of God, and the wicked ; let *Ismael* live and be great, and let *Isaack* be the heire, with all the troubles that belong to the executorship ; let *Esau* haue pottage, and let the blessing goe where it will ; let *Saul* be honored before the people, and let him be an off-cast from the Lord : but let all this be put together, it is but trash in the eyes of the godly in comparison of his face. Observe their desire in the burthen of the 80 Psal: where, in their captivitie, still they desire ; *oh God returne us, and cause thy face to shine, and wee shall be saved* : their deliverance, and all the happines that may follow it, will not be worth any thing to them, without the amiable looks of Gods countenance. So that as *Absalon* seemed rather to make choyce of death, then not to see the Kings face : so Gods people had rather die, or endure any sorrow or calamitie under the countenance of a reconciled God, then liue *Methusalahs* age, and inioy what the world could afford, under the frowning lookes of a displeased God. Yea, there is no temptation so sharpe, no plight so dolorous, no fright so fearfull, nor agony so in expugnable, as the angry countenance of a forsaking God : for this maketh a man apprehend and conceive of God, as a God inarmed against him for his destruction. This the people of God conceive of their state, as it appeareth by that patheticall exhortation in the aforesaid Psalme ; *how long wilt thou smooke, or shew the tokens of an angry countenance against the prayer of thy people?* vers. 6. What maketh the wound of conscience so unsupportable, but that the *Chirurgion* denyeth to looke at it, he letteth it ranckle and fester, till who can beare it? yea, if the spirit of God should not support his owne by the finger of the spirit (though unsensiblie) the best should be at their wits end, and *Sauls* impatiencie should drive them to desperate courses : But in this, he differenceth his owne from

from the damned, that as *his one hand is over them, so his other hand is under them*; he supporteth them wonderfully, when they conceive nothing lesse, and by a secret instinct extorts prayer from them, even in the fearfull agony of their soules distresse, whē their prayers seeme to be rejected of him: but it is nothing so with the wicked, in their distresses from God his justly conceived wrath: for eyther they seek not at all for the appeasing of Gods angry countenance, or with lost labour they leaue presently of, and run to the devill directly, or indirectly, for the alaying of the same. I touch these things but briefly, leaving the further enucleation to accurate theologs, and sound soule-phisitians.

Lastly, for the glory of God, trampled under *the foote of pride*; wee should be most moved of all, since wee provoke him by our sinnes to forsake his owne inheritance, and to leaue his owne cause, to his owne dishonour unmaintained. This lay heavy upon *Eli*, who when he heard of the loosing of the day, the slaughter of the people, and the death of his sonnes, could sit still and beare it out; but when he heard of the taking of the Arke, he could sit no longer. So *Phineas* his wife, made more of the losse of the Arke, then of all the rest, then of the people, of her father in-law, then of her husband, or whatsoever yea her reioycing for the sonne she had gayned, was swallowed up in sorrow; so that shee left a character of her killing griefe in the name of her sonne, calling him *Ichabod*, *where is the glory, or there is no glory*. It is the speciall matter of the complaint of Gods people in their greatest desolation, that the heathen, in an insulting braverie; did dishonor their God, upon the seeming denyall of his presence, and providence over his owne people; yea many speeches in the Psalmes hath reference to the thoughts of the wicked concerning God; *why shall the heathen say where is their God?* yea *David* sheweth how he was affected in this case, that the reprochfull words of the adversary were as a *dagger thrust into this bones*, with a murdering weapon in

Psalm 79. 16
Respect.
Murther
as a
mur-
thering
weapon.

Psal. 42. 11

my bones, my distressors doe reproch me when they say unto me all the day long, where is thy God. When Hezekiah heard how cursed Rabshakah had blasphemed & reproched the Holy One of

2. King 19.

δὲ αὖ ποτὶ

αὐτὸν συνέ-

λεθεῖν τῶν,

ὁ μαιζὼν

αὐτοῦ ἐλ-

τον ἐλά-

ττοντα.

Hipp.

Aphorif.

Israel, how grieved was he in heart, he got him to the house of the Lord, spread the letter before him, & humbled himselfe in prayer. It is a principall in phisicke, that when two evils or sicknesses concurre together, the greater taketh away the sense of the lesser. Experience did instance this in a man so oppressed and pained with the gout, that he could neither stir foote nor hand, but feared the very touch of a feather: but being taken with a cruell fit of the stone, he forgot the gout and run and stamp in the chamber, as though he would haue beaten it downe. To an honest servant, dishonour done to his Master goeth neerer to his heart, then the cut of a sword: the true child of a father had rather loose his life then suffer his father to be dishonored.

Application

This then, by it selfe, were matter enough of humiliation: why should the brats of *Bable* say where is the God of the Calvinists (as they call them?) No, should not this pierce our hearts while thus they say of our God? but doth not all, or the most, say this especially to their heels, that all should lay to their heart: witness the securitie of all; the avarice, oppression, ambition, and time-serving humor of some; the epicurish, & beastly life of others: giue the men of this world gain, honor, office, yvorie beds, wine in bowles, lascivious Musick, joviall companie, and beastly songs, lordly prelacies, and fat livings: Let *Ioseph* carrie his afflictions as well as he can, and let the Lords honor lie unlamented in the dust: but

Amos 6. 1.

Woe be to them that are at ease in Zion; the Lord suffereth sometimes himself to take wrong, to see how men will take it, but when he sees that none regards it, he will quit himself by the power of his own Arme, and when he reckoneth, with the coward, and the carelesse, he will pittie them as little as they did pittie him. Yea, what reckoning can our State make, who helps to deface the honour of God, by suffering our people

people to serve Gods enemies, against those that fight the battles of the Lord: in this is a greater masse of mischiefs then we are aware of; for beside the setting subject against subject, blood against blood; yea, brother against brother (which is worse then toleration of *duels*) it smites at Gods cause, it makes his honour bleed, it heartens and hardens Gods enemies, it grieves the heart, and weakens the hand of Gods forces, it proclaims that we are not Gods friends indeed (what show soever we make) and it threatneth the wrath of God against us. I cannot but with griefe and fear, make use again of Gods anger threatned against *Iehoshaphats* sin of this kind; *Shouldst thou help the ungodly, &c. therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord.* Let us humble then our selues unfeignedly: let us afflict our selues, and powre out our hearts before our God, and doe no more so. Let us sow in teares, for this especially, if ever we mean to reap in joy. Gods honour in the dust, and all the rest of the former motives, eale us to mourning and baldnesse, and girding with sack-cloth. If we will not seek God with sorrow in affliction, we will never seek him. *It is no time to hang our hearts upon the merry pin, when we should hang up our harpes upon the willow trees;* & if we doe, the Lord hath threatned us (as I haue formerly shewed) not to purge this iniquitie till we die.

Let us doe as the Israelites did: when the Lord did rebuke them by his Angel, for not overthrowing of the Canaanits altars, and that therefore he would not cast out the Canaanits; but they should be as thornes in their sides, and their gods should be snares to them; all the people upon his lift up their voyce and wept, and from their weeping called the name of the place *Bachin*: so let us weep much, for we haue much matter of weeping; but we must not onely weep bitterly for sinne, but we must abandon sin, there must be a totall change of the inward and outward man; wee must cease to doe evill, and learne so doe well: the golden Calf must be beaten to powder; yea, and the powder

must be drunk, as *Moses* made the Israelites to doe with the golden Calfe. Divers reasons whereof are given by the Fathers, partly to put away all impressions and reliques of idolatry, partly, to shew the vile and base esteem that we should haue of Idols, as of things to be carryed into the draught; and by the bitterness of the water they might partly be admonished of the bitter curse whereunto all by nature, without Christ, are subject, and partly how sin by the bitterness of repentance, must be done away. I will not, with some of the learned Chymists, take this act of *Moses* as an instance of Chymicall projection: but I am sure that out of it we may pick the true projection of repentance. *Ezekiah* must break the brazen Serpent into peeces. *Iosiah* must find out the excommunicate thing, and consume it with fire: for so long as it is with us, God will not be with us. As *Ferus* did with for the Romish Synagogue, I would we had some *Moses* (saith he) to take away the evils: for we haue not one golden Calfe but many: so would to God every one of Gods people would reforme one; and that *Moses* and *Maron* (the Magistrate and Minister) would both reforme themselves and others, by the due and holy imployment of their severall powers, in their places; and every one in the so doing must cast out his beloved sinne. *Samuel* shewing the Israelites the way how to return, layeth down a good and perfect rule in this case, which will never deceiue us. If you will return to the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods, and *Ashteroth* from among you. What was not *Ashteroth* a strange god? Yes, and the greatest Idoll. Why is it singled out then? Because it was their beloved Idoll. So every one hath his *Ashteroth*, his beloved sin, which though it seem a little one to himselfe, like *Zohar*; yet it is the greatest of all: it may seem an *Ashteroth*, a sheep, but it is indeed a wolfe in sheeps clothing. At this then must we strike, and neither at great nor small so much as at this; He that conquereth this overcometh all: but where this beareth sway,

Non enim tantum visum, sed multos habemus.

1 Sam. 7. 4

Ashteroth.

no sin is truly overcome. And so much *Samuel* intimateth by the speech, as if he should expaine himselfe further: You say well, you will return to God, you will amend what is amisse; if you will doe it indeed, this is the right way to work, put away *Asheroth*: and so must we doe, if we mean that God shall heare us and help us.

The cause of *Nehemiahs* diligence in reforming of the Sabbath, after the return from the captivity, was not onely conscience of obedience; or because the sincere keeping of the rest of the commandements, dependeth much upon the keeping of this; but also, as it is plainly in the Text expressed, because it was Israels speciall sinne, and the ground of other sinnes, for the which especially the Lord had plagued them. *Did not your fathers thus* (saith he) *and did not our God bring all this evill upon us, and upon the Citie; yet ye bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath?* *Nehem. 13. 18.*

I wish to God that the United Provinces, and all other that professe the Gospell, would looke to this. The Phari-
saicall Papist, being zealous of his *Idoll-daies* making the Lords day (being his own commandement) of none effect, doth much insult over us that we hold it a morall commandement, and yet do yeeld so little obedience to it, together with this, that we retain some of their devised holy-daies. The like amendment I might presse of many other sinnes, though I cannot touch all in particular. The Lord touch our hearts with the sense of every particular. That *Cardiack* life of *swilling, sweating, and swearing*, must be done away. *David* and all his, must not onely turn away his eyes from beholding the vanity of Stage-plaies, and other idlements; but he must whip out, with *Augustus* that counterfeiting rabble that God never made. The abhorring or liking of Stage-plaies was holden amongst the Romans for a note, of a bade, or a good Emperour. I will not trouble this Treatise with the discovery of these hypocrites, onely hear a little of that which one (once much affected with them)

*Bibere &
sudare, est
vita Cardis
aci.*

Pag. 43.

*Turpitudi-
nis schole,
et vitiarū
fauine.*

them) soundeth out against them in a retreat (for so the Treatise is called) he professeth, on his knowledge, that he found *Theaters to be the very hatchers of all wickednesse; as brothels of baudry, the black blasphemy of the Gospell, the Saboths contempt, the seat of scorning, yea, even of God himselfe, the danger of the soule, the disorder and tankar of the Commonwealth.* He instanceth in his own knowledg, Citizens wiues confessing on their death-beds, that they were so impoysoned at Stage-plaies, that they brought much dishonour to God, wrong to their husbands and marriage bed, weaknesse to their wretched bodies, and woe to their undone soules. *Bodin, the Civilian, calleth them, the schooles of filthinesse, and sinks of sinne;* inſomuch that they are not worthy of a chaste care, nor of an honest mans preſence. But I hope in a Treatise onely of that ſubject, more fully to diſcover the ſin, and to ſet them forth in their colours; wherein I ſhall be able to proue, that the Stage-player, and Stage-hunter, breaketh all the ten commandements in an eminent manner. The Stage is one of the Ieſuits ſchools, from which theſe vile Varlets haue caſt ſo much dirt upon the face of the King of Brittain, and of his children, with their Iſſue, that I think they ſhould be as hatefull to them, in a manner, as calumnious devils; for they are *Diabolus*, or devils indeed: As for the counter-railling of that prostituted Crue, it ſtands neither with grace nor wit, to make devils on our ſide *Antagoniſts* to other Devils: it is alſo a bad requitall by the States, of all Gods mercies, to grieve his ſpirit by thoſe plague plaies: yea, it is fearfull on the Lords day to make them a part of princely intertainment. It was the obſervation of an ancient Hollander in Leyden, upon the inſurrection of the Armenians; that hee feared God would being ſome great evill upon them, for the Stage-plaies that did ſo abound; for he remembered that before that firebrand Duke de *Alva* was flung amongſt them, that this plague was begun amongſt them. The Lord giue them

and others to rid the land of them. The Lord threatneth to be gone, and hee will be gone indeed, both from Camp and Cittie, except we put away these evils from before his eyes.

But to conclude this point: up and doe as you haue heard, and the Lord (no doubt) will be with you, and delight to doe you good in your deliverance. I will not, as some doe, pawn my soule for assurance, because it is not mine to pawn, but I will assure you on a better pawn, namely, the promise and practise of God, whose *promises are all Yea, and Amen*; and his practise like himselfe, unchangeable for ever.

The booke of God is so large in this, that I need not be any thing large in the prooffe of it; take but that one place of *Samuel* mentioned, where after that Israel had humbled themselves, and got their peace made with God; and *Samuel* to cry mightily to God for them; the Lord taketh the work of their hands, he incountrith with the enemy, by thundering from heaven upon them, the earth trembled under them, the lightning blasted them; all wrought for his people against them. Our God is the very selfe same God, and they our enemies be the *Philistims*; Would we become such as this people, all the creatures of God should be in-armed in zeale, to take vengeance on our enemies: Yea, I am perswaded, that if the enemy should see us take such courses, it would daunt him more then the feare of any forces that we can make: if they should see us taking up the controversie with God, and growing great with him, it would make their hearts tremble, as the *Philistims* did when they heard the Arke was brought into the Campe. It is reported that at the siege of Mountabone, the people of God using daily humiliation, as their service would permit, did sing a Psalm after, and immediatly before their sallying forth; with which practise the enemy comming acquainted, ever upon the singing of the Psalm (after which they expected a sally) they would so quake and tremble; crying, they

come,

come, they come: as though the wrath of God had been breaking out upon them. Oh that we had hearts to seek the Lord, and surely he would be found, and will be seen in the Mount, whensoever we seek as we ought: and so much of this point, wherein I cannot be too large to those who mean to mend.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of the generous behaviour of the conquered in regard of his enemy.

NOW it followeth how the conquered thus reconciled to God, should demean himselfe in regard of his enemy. It is true indeed, that a man especially in this case must alwaies walk humbly with his God; yet in respect of his enemy, he must resolute, even in his greatest extremity, on true fortitude, and couragious carriage. Extremity may change the greatest State into the furthest point of opposition; but it can never make a noble mind base, nor captivate a generous soule; though in an inthrall'd body. Craftie Synon could brag so much of himselfe, that howsoever fortune had made him miserable; yet of a base and lying disposition it should never make him. A truely magnanimious man must be like a soure cornered stone, on what side soever he lighteth, he can lie: he can shew himselfe as truely noble in the depth of adversity, as in the height of prosperity. What remarkable examples haue we in the Heathens of this kind! Agiselaus said of himselfe; *I doe so use my selfe, that in no change I am changed.* When all things went with Caesar against Carø, and the case grew so desperate, that his friends counsell'd him to submit himselfe to the clemencie of Caesar; he answered,

*Miserum
quonquam
fortuna Si-
nonem
finxit, &c.
Homo qua-
dratus.*

*ερεαυτ' ε-
θιζας, ως εν
μηδεμι' α
μεταβολη
μηταβο-
λων ζητησιν.*

That

That it was for the conquered and delinquent so to doe; but *Caro* Plutarch. in
had behaved himselfe so all his life, that he was never, neither *vita Lacon.*
conquered nor taken; meaning that he was alwaies a free man
howsoever. The Scottish *Alexander*, in his triumphant
prize of Poetry, (for so I may call the work) bringeth in *Dar-
ius* almost conquered by the Grecian *Alexander*, yet with
this braue resolution if all should come to the worst.

*And shall this tongue inur'd for to command;
return as now to be a base intreater?
So long'st this sword doth homage to this hand,
I'll not acknowledge in the world a greater.
This tongue inur'd for to command doth scorn
to breathe base words, to scape a minutes paines:
Let them obey who to obey was born;
for Darius this indignitie disdaines.*

Such was the princely carriage of *Francis* the first; and
such an inbred Majestie did he shew in his countenance, car-
riage, habit and discourse, that the hearts of *Borbon*, and the
rest of his enemies, to whom he was captiue, were so ra-
vished therewith, that they honoured him with no lesse ob-
servancy, then if he had been in the top of his prosperity.
Homer much commendeth *Vlysses*, when by shipwrack being
cast on shore, he had nothing to commend him but his carriage:
Such is the force of vertue, it will manifest and extoll it
selfe. The noble behaviour of *Daniel*, and the three Chil-
dren, did so grace them in the eyes of their conquering ene-
mies, that of Captiues they became Commanders. A King
indeed, or the truely Noble, will ever be like themselves,
neither will they for any ease or feare, imbrace any base or
dishonourable conditions. The pusillanimity of some hath
vassalled them more, and done them more dishonour, then
all their own adversitie, or the power of the enemy. King
Persens being taken by *Paulus Æmilius*, fell on his face before
him, and holding up his hands, with womanish cryes and
teares, diddeprecate his offence; whom *Æmilius* behold-

Plutarch. in
vita Emil.

1 Sam. II.
1.

Molineus
de abusibus
Paparam.

Applicatio

ing with an austere countenance, told him that *hee was a miserable man indeed, and more worthy to be a captive then a King*; onely this, he was sorry that the Romanes should contend with such an unworthy adversary; in whom as there was no worth, so he had no glory by the conquering of him. The like is related of *Tamerlane to Baiazer*. The more wicked and cruell the Conquerour is, the conquered must be the more wary of conditions: such be Rome and Spaine; with whom there are no conditions to be had with Gods people; but dishonour and extirpation: just such as *Nasir* the Ammonite would put upon *Iabesh Gilead*; namely, the thrusting out of all their right eyes, that he might reproch them. It is their professed cunning (to their shame) aboue Turkes and Heathens, to murder and massacre by equivocation; witnesse the usage of *Malastate*, by *Paul* the third, who causing him to be slain under his *unsafe-conduct*; excused himselfe thus; *That he gaue him leaue to come, but not to goe*. Whence one observeth, that it is more safe dealing with the Turke, then with the Pope. They doe not contend, as the ancient Romans did, for command and glory, making the conquered their friends; or as the Turkes doe at this day, to bring people to tribute, and Civill Obedience; but to bring them and theirs to slavery, dishonour, and utter ruin. They are such as *Marcellus*, of whom *Hanibal* said; *That hee was such an enemy as was never quiet, whether he conquered, or were conquered*: So whether they giue or take conditions, they are never to be trusted, as by their horrible perfidie and monstrous cruelty, to all the world appeareth.

„ If I were worthy to intreat your Majestie; I would on
„ my knee beseech you and others, to admit no condition
„ from them unworthy of your state and cause; yea to looke
„ for no good of them, except it be against their wils. You
„ and yours are the prey that they would teare in peeces:
what

„ what good the lambe may expect of the wolfe, or the
 „ sheepe of the Beare, such may you expect of them. There-
 „ fore since God hath hitherto preserved you; trust him till
 „ he lift up your horne: for there is no peace to be had with
 „ the wicked, saith my God. But, I meane, if your Majestie
 „ will giue me leaue, that you shall have a whole treatise of
 „ this subject, wherein their dealings shall be set out in their
 „ colours. It is the very finger of God that keepeth the
 United States from any conditions with them, *but such*
as are made at sea, and sealed with great ordinance. As for
 the King of France his conditions to the Protestants,
When they see the King, they had best trust in God, and looke to
themselves.

As the conquered is thus to respect their owne honour, Touch no
idolatrie.
 so especially they are to respect the honour of God, in mat-
 ter or manner of religion, that neither for feare of death, nor
 desire of deliverance, they admit any point of false worship.
 The three children are a good patterne herein, that preferred
 obedience to their God, before place & preferment, before
 the Kings favour, yea & to life it selfe. Amongst many other
 instances of this nature, I reade of some in the Scottish historie
 pertinent to the matter in hand. When the castle of Saint
 Andrewes was take by the French, there were many of good
 fashion put into the French Gallies; but the chiefe men of
 birth & place as the two *Lislyes*, the *Laird of Grange*, & others,
 were committed to strong holds in France, wherein were
 Captains, by whom they were much pressed to heare masse:
 but they replied, *that though they had their bodies in keeping; yet*
they had no command over their consciences, neither would they do
any thing against their consciences, if the King himselfe would com-
mand them. Those that were in the Gallies were no lesse re-
 solve: for being arrived at *Nantes*, and the great *Salve* being
 sung, a gaudie picture of the Lady was offered to them to
 kisse; amongst the rest a Scottishman being urged, he meekly
 desired them not to trouble him, for he knew it was one of

the devils iewels, and a cursed idoll, and therefore said he, I will not touch it. But the *Patron*, and the *Arguisier*, with two officers, having the chiefe charge of all such business, thrust the idoll on his face, and put it betweene his hands, whereof when he saw he could not be rid, he tooke it verie orderly in his hands, and looking advisedly upon it, he flung it into the river, and said, *let our lady now save herselfe, sure shee is light enough, let her learne to swim*. After which they urged no Scottishman with their idolls. Let men keepe themselves from idolls, and God will keepe them, if it were in the middest of a fire furnace. I cite these the rather, because a great many of our *Mirmaid-Professors* thinke outward presence at Mass very lawfull, though it be not enforced; and for such vaine toyes they esteeme them as they are; if a man be compelled, who will hazard his life or libertie for such a small matter? but let me tell such, that he that will save his life so, shall loose it; and he that will loose his life rather then dishonour God in the least thing shall saue it. The *Israelits* in their captivitie are straitly enioyned to quit themselves of the customes of the nations; that is, not to defile themselves with any of their Idols, though they were to obey in all things lawfull. Yea, when they should see the heathens dote upon their idolls, they should boldly say unto them; *the gods that haue not made the heavens, and the earth, they shall perish from the earth, and from under the heavens*. I wish that the afflicted in the *Palatinat* and *Bohemia*, may so quit themselves, for they be in great danger: and so much for this particular,

Jer. 10. 11.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of the patience of the conquered.

THe conquered in the next place with his generous behavior, must ioyne continued patience, which is able to beat into powder the hardest adamant of affliction; yea here indeed is the proper place of patience, and in this, it hath the perfect worke. *The vertue of patience (saith Gregory) is not known in prosperitie: Therefore the Apostle setteth downe patience as a fruite of tribulation in the godly. Tribulation worketh patience. Lactantius hence giveth a reason why good men come under the power of ill men; namely, that they may learne patience, and have occasion to exercise* "patience: for patience hath his proper vwork in evill, not (as Seneca saith, very diuine-like) * *that wee should desire evill for the manifestation of our patience, as to be overcome by the enemy, to be forsaken of our friends: but if those evils fall upon us, wee should desire herein to manifest our patience.*

For the better pressing of you, in your present condition to the practize of this dutie, giue me leave to unfold briefly these foure heads, wherein the summe of this duetie, both for knowledge, and practize doth consist; namely, the excellencie of it, the necessitie of it, the motives to it, and the meanes to come by it. For the first, we must first of all know what true patience is, wee cannot otherwise desire it; yea wee may cozen our selues (as many doe) with a shew or shadow of patience without any true substance; therefore I doe not meane by patience an *apatheticall stupiditie*, or senselesnes, whether stoicall or naturall, whereby men become like blockes under the burthen, by setting a presse upon their hearts

Namque est patientia virtus in prosperis nota. lib. 11. Moral. Rom. 5. 3. "Necesse est iustum virum in potestate esse hominis iniusti, ut patientiam capiat, patientia enim malorum perlatio est. de Diu. instit. lib. 5. "Incommoda non sunt optabilia, sed virtus qua perferantur. Epist. 68.

The sum of patience consisteth in 4 things. Ignoti nulla Cupido.

*Velamentū
furoris, non
virtus man-
suetudinis.
Homil. 35.
in Luc. 21.*

hearts; neyther that seeming patience from the teeth out-ward, which some in their troubles proclaime to men, yet with an inward grudge, as it were, or dislike of Gods hand, which *Gregorie* termeth well, a *vaile of furie*, not a *vertue of patience*; nor last of all that meere morall vertue of the heathens wherewith they were so highly gifted, and did so manifest the same in their lives and deaths, that they may make us ashamed: but by patience I understand, *that fruit of the spirit, or that grace of God, whereby his children doe beare, and out-beare every thing willingly and constantly, that the Lord doth lay upon them, and that in obedience to his will*; so that it differenceth the godly under the crosse, not onely from the openly wicked, raging and reviling, but also from the best, meerly morall, or civill men of the world, whose outside of patience maketh so glorious a shew to the world.

Contra

Psalm. lib. 4

What (*saith Melancthon*) is the patience of *Socrates*, or *Marius*; or (*as Austin*) of *Fabricius*, *Scipio* or *Regulus* in comparison of the patience of the Saints? *even as the chaffe to the wheate or base metall to the purest gold*. It is true, they endured and that to the death, but as *Melancthon*; it was a bare outside; their was no life in it; it wanted faith for the ground, Gods honour for the end, consolation for the fruit and effect: There be none of those three in philosophicall patience, and therefore *Austin* saith well of this subiect, *that a man can have no true vertue except he be justified in & by Christ*, neyther can any be iustified but he that liveth by faith; such were neither *Scipio* nor any of the rest, and therefore their patience and all other vertues were but *glistening finnes*. Naturall men may, by the law of nature, both doe and suffer things containd in the law: but if themselues be not under grace what shall it profit them if they would giue their bodies to be burned in the fire; Yea the patience of the heathen, as it is without consolation; so if their sufferings be prolonged, it holds not out to the end: for a spirt or fit, if they be put to it, they dare emounter with death and torments (yea in this they have

haue proved desperately patient; but through long continuance their resolution faileth them, and through impatiencie of disgrace, they become selfe-murtherers. Examples are frequent; for all, take that one of *Mithridates*; who for the space of 50 yeares (as I shewed) had alwayes the better of the Romans, and had given them many great overthrowes he possessed *Asia*, tooke their Legates & proconsuls and cast them in bonds; at last being overcome by *Pompey*, at first he set a very faire face on it, seeming to content himselfe, that it was his lot to be vanquished by the greatest Commander in the world, and one whom he thought worthy to command the world: but for all this (his patience wanting root) it could not grow, he was in a kind of fever, wherein men be cold without, but heat as fire within; which fire of impatientie he quenched with his vitall bloud, shed by his owne hands. And *Pompey* himselfe after his overthrow, grew impatient against God. But Christian patience, the more it is tryed it is of the better prooffe. Yea; this maketh the sufferings of the Saints, not onely to be easie, but also to be comfortable, which indeed is a paradoxe to a naturall man. It is strange to him, that a man should picke any comfort out of sufferings, which are so bitter to flesh and bloud; therefore the wicked (as *Tertullian* observeth in his time) did deride the martyrs, that they would suffer fire and fagot for they knew not what. And so the worldlings of our time, wonder that Gods people will for some triviall controversies of religion (as they call them) loose goods, possessions of inheritance, honours, and dignities; put wife and children at randome, and hazard life it selfe; what comfort (say they) can they haue in this? yes, much every way. if they be in Christ: for their tribulation bringeth patience, and patience bringeth comfort, and the worth of this jewel the cocke on dunghill doth not know.

Epialys Febris.

Apolog. cap. 46.

The worldling is a stranger to the nature of patience.

As there be two kinds of *Antidotes* against *poysen*, namely, this hot and cold, so against tribulation, and temptation there be

two soveraigne *Antidots*, prayer and patience, the one hot, and the other cold; the one quenching & the other quickning. And this may serve to giue a tast of the excellencie of patience; for having so many things to handle, I can giue but a tast of every thing.

As for the necessitie of patience it will appeare if you looke upon it selfe, or our selues, on the crosse, and the issue wee expect.

As for it selfe, since it is the soveraigne medicine against the evill of trouble it must needs be necessarie. *That man* *Magnum malum est,* (saith one of the *Sages*) *is twice miserable, that in his misery* *non posse ferre malū.* *teth patience.* Secondly, if wee weigh the crosse; it is very heavy, & except it be corked with patience, wee are not able to keepe head above water under it. *No chastening* (saith the *Heb. 12. 11* Spirit) *for the present seemeth to be ioyous but grievous.* Again if we respect our selues, eyther in our weaknesse, or our drofines, patience is necessarie, for to support the one, and to purge out the other. *Affliction* is the purge; but *patience* keepeth the place of nature, it setteth the medicine kindly a worke, and is the chiefe work-man; otherwise the *Phisicke* would kill us. Sometime a man is dispossessed of his owne heart by sudden impatience ere he be aware, and therefore he had neede to possesse himselfe with patience. Sometimes the heart is tossed like a ship on the waues, against which the *2. Thes. 2. 2* Apostle inarmeth the *Thessalonians*; be not soone shaken: by patience againe it is established. Sometime it is weake and faint, and by the power of patience it is strengthened. Observe the outbursts of the best of Gods Saints, and wee shall see that wee haue more then need of patience. *Elijah* desired that he may dye: *Jeremy* quarreleth with God for deceiving of him; and *Iob* curseth the day of his birth. Lastly, if we looke to that which we looke for; namely, the promise; for ye had neede of patience, that after yee haue done the will of God, yee may receive the promise. *Heb. 10. 36*

As for the motives of patience with follow in the third place,

place, they be many; a few whereof I will lay down. First, the authour of the crosse should moue thee to patience, and that is God, whosoever is the instrument. The Arrow is sharp indeed, but who shot it? The burthen is heavy, but who laid it on? Then bear it with patience, and let that ease the smart. The Prophet *David* with this did hedg himselfe in from impatiencie: *I am dumb and will not open my mouth, Psal. 39. 39. because thou hast done it:* And thus he carryed *Shemies* curse, *Let 2 Sam. 16. him curse, because the Lord hath said unto him curse David. 10.* When God did consume with fire the sonnes of *Aaron*, it is said that *Aaron held his peace; no man can haue power over Lev. 10.3. any of his, except it be given him of God.*

A second motiue thou maist take from thy selfe, comparing that which thou dost suffer, with that which thou deservest to suffer: it is the mercy of the Lord that we are not consumed. Thus *David* compareth his troubles with his trespassse, and layeth down the one as a reason why he should beare the other; *Deliver me from all my trespassses, put me not to the reproach of the foole: then it followeth; I am dumb; as* "he would say, It is thy doing Lord, and thou mightest "justly lay more upon me for my sin; whereof I beg par- "don, and then lay on me what thou wilt, so thou giue me "patience. *Gregory* hath a fit speech to this purpose, *Our sufferings shall be the more easie, if we call to mind our sinnes in our In Registro sufferings.*

Thirdly, consider the nature of the crosse, as it is qualified to the godly; the worst that it is, it is but a furnace to try the gold, and purge out the drosse. Will not a man suffer the Phisitian to purge out his corruption? Or the Chyrurgion with patience, to corrode and cut out the corrupt flesh? *This life (as Austin saith) is the furnace, affliction is the fire, Inbeor ego the godly are the gold, with a great deale of drosse in them, and tolerare, no. God himselfe is the skilfullest Artist; then let him purge and try rit ille pur. While he will; let him make the fire of what height he will; Psal. 60. gare. Super let me as gold lye still in the hand of the Workman, till hee take*

"me forth: The drosse shall be purged, but thou art in no dan-
 "ger to be consumed. The wicked are but hewers of wood,
 "and bringers in of fewell, and plaies the scullions to cleanse
 "and scoure things; but the great Artist of heaven looketh
 "to the fire himselfe, that it shall not be one degree higher
 "then it should be: Yea, the crosse being sanctified, makes
 the vanity of all earthly things so manifest, that they see no
 help in any thing, saue onely in the Lord of heaven and
 earth. There is more good under affliction, then wee are
 aware of: to judge it by the taste, or to censure it by the
 outside, will never bring patience: but consider it in the
 effects, as it is, (namely, a bitter medicine, out of the sweet-
 ning hand of a good father, as it is sanctified by the power
 of Christ, to all that are in Christ, both by power and par-
 ticipation :) and we shall not onely be patient in it, but al-
 so blesse God for it. It openeth the eare, it cleareth the eie,
 it maketh great with God; as sicknesse it cleareth the body;
 it quickneth the spirit, as blowing doth the fire, although
 these seem at first to suppress them. In a word, as many
 good medicines are picked out of ranke poyson; so out of
 the rock of affliction, groweth a soveraigne *Panacea*; Yea,
 as one poyson is antidotary to another; so the poyson of
 "affliction expelleth the poyson of sinne. Let man know
 " (saith *Austen*) that God is a Phisitian, and tribulation is the
 "medicine, and that for our soules health: *Thou art under*
 "cure, thou art seared, thou art cut, thou cryest, God heareth;
 "but how? according to thy weale, not according to thy will.
 Out of the experience of all this *David* concludeth, that it
 was good for him that hee had been afflicted. That good
 that *David* found in the crosse, made him him be patient un-
 der the Crosse.

Sub medi-
camento
positus ure-
ris, secaris,
slannas; non
audis ad vo-
luntatem,
sed ad sani-
tatem.
Super Psal.
21.

Fourthly, consider what the *God of patience* hath born of
 us, and how long he hath born with us; yea, what hevie
 things hee hath suffered for us; (if so be we be in Christ :)
 Should we thinke much to suffer a little for him, or rather
 for

for our selues (for we haue the good of it?) To the sufferings of Christ I may adde the sufferings of the Saints, *fulfilling the latter sufferings of Christ in the flesh: Take the Prophets (saith the Apostle) for an ensample of suffering, and of long patience.* You haue heard of the patience of Iob, and haue known what end the Lord made, who left us an example that we should follow his steps. Iam. 5. 10

Fifthly, the excellency of patience may make us in loue with it: like an expert Chymist, there is no matter so bad, but it will bring good out of it. *It is the softest and most so- ueraign ligature to all the fractures of the soules qualities, as un- derstanding, will and memory; it marshals all the forces of these faculties in the due order; it leadeth them into the field, it dis- ciplineth them at hand, in the end it maketh them too hard for any aduerse forces to deal withall; and this (I take it) is to possesse the soule with patience: it scorneth fortune, it weakeneth crosses, it increaseth fortitude, it sweeteneth all bitternesse, it maketh good the promises: In a word it maketh a man (as the Apostle saith) perfect and intire lacking nothing.* Iam. 3. 40

The sixth and last motiue may be taken from the contrary vice, namely, impatiency; which is worse then aduersity The evils of impati- encie. selfe: for this is the euill of punishment, at the worst; the other is an euill of sin, at the best, and a remedy worse then the disease: when this meeteth with a crosse, there is a crosse indeed. *It maketh a man misconstrue Gods meaning, mistake his own estate, neglect the best courses, and take the worst; it weakens soule and body; it maketh the burthen unsupportable; it giveth great advantage to his enemy: for a man cannot desire a weaker enemy then an impatient man; because he is over- come of himselfe. In a word, it maketh his estate desperate, and his case hopelesse of recovery.*

Hence I come to shew the meanes how to obtaine pati- The means of obtain- ing pati- ence. ence. First, in the time of prosperity thinke upon the crosse and provide for it: Vnexpected calamity maketh men be-

side their wit. *David*, by misreckoning of a point, mist the haven, and ran upon the rockes: *I said in my prosperity I shall never be moved, thou hast made my Hill so strong; but thou didst hide thy face, and I was suddenly moved.* In unexpected evils a man cannot ply himselfe to patience, he is so much distracted, and therefore it is an onely mean for patience, in prosperity to be thinking what to doe if adversity should come. Things heere are subject to change; no day but it hath the own night; the cleereſt Sun-shine is often over-clouded on a sudden; and the hottest season hath lightning and thunder. As a Sea-faring man in the faireſt weather looketh for a storm; so in the height of worldly happineſſe, let men looke for some diſaſter, that they may the better bear it when it cometh. *Iobs* affliction was hea-vie, yet the lighter by this, that *the evill was come that he feared.* Our Saviour endeavouring to in-arm his Disciples with this patience of prooſe; fore-warneth them of the great persecutions, and close tryals that were to come upon them; namely, that not onely their professed enemies should cast them in prison, and bring them before Rulers, but they should be betrayed even by their own parents, brethren and kinsfolkes, and they should cause them to be put to death: But what remedy against all this? Christs promise, *Luk. 21. 19* and their patience: *in your patience possesse ye your soules:* He forewarneth them of the persecution, that their patience may not be to seek; hee discovereth the evill, that they might have the remedy at hand.

A second mean to obtain patience, is the fitting and framing of our selues to the burthen. There is cunning in porter-craft, as well as in King-craft. As there is cunning, as well as strength, to the bearing of a burthen; so there must be patience, as well as fortitude, for under-going of the crosse.

To this the Poet speaketh prettily and pertinently.

The cunning carriage makes the burthen light.

If I mistake the termes of the mystery, I hope the company

*Cedamus,
debe fit quod
bene futur
onus. Ovid.
2. Amar.*

pany will excuse me: For it is not for want of practise, but of theoricke: for the better carriage of the burthen, as it must be well bound: so all the parts of the crosse must be compacted and bound up together: for if one part hang from another, it is very troublesome: Secondly, it must be well laid on: a burthen well bound up, and well laid on, is halfe carriage to the bearer. Thou must willingly lay thy shoulder under the burthen, and thy neck under the yoke, and thy yoke shall be easie, and thy burthen light. This is that assuescing, or inuring of a mans selfe to the bearing of the burthen, that the Prophet speaketh of: *It is good for a man that he beare the yoke in his youth; hee sitteth alone and keepeth silence, because he hath born it; hee putteth his mouth in the dust if there may be hope.* Where obserue, that a man inuring of himselfe to the carriage of the crosse, becommeth a cunning carrier, and his cunning in carriage maketh him a mirror of patience. An old Cart going still without any noise under the burthen, may be a good *Hyerogliffe* of this cunning, whereas a new Cart unused to loading maketh a huge noyse: so the old beaten porter to the Crosse, had rather endure it, then deplore it. Thirdly, he must goe steady, with his joynts straight, and a stiffe neck: for if his joynts bowe, and his neck budge, he will, as the Poet saith, fall under the burthen.

Lam. 3. 27.
28. 29.

Maluit tolerare quam deplorare.

Sustineas ut onus, nitendum est vertice recto,

Ac flecti nervos, si patiare cades.

With joynts out-stretcht thy burthen carry straight,

For if thou budge, thou fal'st under the waight.

So if a man wag to and againe, and struggle and strine under the crosse, he weakeneth himselfe, making the burthen heavier, and at last hee cashiereth both fortitude and patience. To this point *Seneca* speaketh well; *the burthen by rowling to and again, becommeth very heavy.*

Pondus ipsa
labitatione
incomodius
fit.

The last point in the carriage that gaineth patience, is cheerfulnessse: a cheerfull heart maketh a strong back. *Alexander*

under Aphrod. giveth a reason, why porters under their burthens goe singing; because the minde being delighted with the sweetnesse of their musicke, the body may feelee the lesse waight under the burthen. So the Apostle willeth us to count it exceeding great ioy when we fall into divers temptations.

Problem. 1.
Numb. 78.

Iam. 1. 2.

A third meane to obtaint patience, is to attend upon the reading and hearing of the word, ioyning thereunto conference and meditation. This is *Salomons* tower out of which this armor of prooffe is fet; and therefore the heathens had none of this, no more have our pictures of professors, make what shewes they can: for where the power of the word worketh not, there can be no true patience. *Whatsoever things were written before time, were written for our learning, that wee through patience and comfort of the scripture might have hope.* So it is called the word of patience, not onely so called because it doth exhibate to us the patience and long suffering of God; but also because it worketh patience in us as a fruite offaith.

Rom. 15. 4.

Apoc. 3. 10.

The last meane, is prayer by which wee doe intreat the God of patience to grant us patience. It is not natures gift; though men by nature will make a brave flourish; it is the gift of God; to you (saith the Apostle) it is not onely given to beleeve, but to suffer. Affliction of it self worketh not patience but rather impatiencie; yea, the word cannot worke it without the working of the spirit, and therefore if any be afflicted, let him pray; namely, eyther for deliverance from the crosse, or for patience under the crosse: and let a man know this, that patience to beare the crosse is a greater gift then deliverance from the crosse.

Philip. 1. 29.

The last thing of patience, is the true use of it, which in regard of the foure-fold obiekt is foure-fold. First in respect of God: we must not so much as in thought, murmur against him; but approve of all he doth. The second in respect of the devill; if he by Gods permission torture or tempt, wee must be patient till the Lord rebuke him. Thirdly, in respect of our selves

selues, if the pricke of the flesh buffet us wee must by patience beare it, if by prayer wee cannot remove it. Lastly, in respect of others; if they be good wee must haue patience with their faylings; if bad be patient though they prosper, and beare if they persecute. Two things especially do further the use of patience; removall of sin, and fixing of our eyes on Christ: both these, as usefull to the third, are laid downe in the *Hebrues*: *Let us lay aside every waight, and the sin* *Heb. 12.22* *which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Iesus the Author and finisher of our faith.* And so I end the point, desiring the God of patience to grant you this patience, and giue it to haue a perfect work in you.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the Hope of the Conquered.

Fourthly the conquered with this patience must ioyne hope: for that is the *sheet-Anchor* by which a man may ride, be the storme never so great. Without this, patience is cold, *almost in the fourth degree*, and that is but a little from poyson. The hopes of the godly indeed may be exceeding low, and their patience may be much weakened; yet on better resolution, they re inforce themselves to endure the worst and to hope the best. *David* said in his feare, *every man is a lyar*, even the Prophet that had promised the Kingdom; yea likewise, *that he was cut downe*, or as the Greeke translateth it, *cast a way*; yea he said in his heart, *one day he should perish by the hand of Saul*: but this was his frayle feare as he confesseth, ^{*Ps. 116. 11*} ^{*Eccl. 31. 23.*} ^{*1. Sam. 27.*} ^{1.} and appeareth by the sequell of his flying to the Philistins, which he should not haue done: but for all this, he reareth

Psal. 31. 23. up his hope, and continueth his prayer; yet certainly thou
Rom. 5. 3. heardest the voyce of my supplication. You may see hope and pa-
 tience commonly ioyned together; the one being the fruit
 of the other: *patience bringeth experience, and experience hope.*
Jeremy commending the carriage of a patient man, sheweth
 us what is the stay of his patience, namely, *Hope*; he putteth his
Lam. 3. 29. mouth in the dust if there may be hope. To summe up the com-
 mon place of hope as I haue done of patience, it shall not be
 so expedient: for he that hath patience shall know what
 hope is. Leome therefore to ply it to the particular object,
 (for I desire to make an end.)

Heb. 6. As hope is the anchor of the soul; so (*distressed Princes*)
Applicatio I desire you and yours to come to this Anchor, which in the greatest
 storme and tempest will never come home. By this you may all ride
 when windes blow and waues rage; if heaven and earth be shaken
 this will hold. But because groundlesse hope is no better then
 an Anchor without ground groundlesse hope, saith the Poet, for
 the most part deceiveth,) I wil point out the grounds of your
 hope in this great businesse, and but briefly point at them; be-
 cause I may haue occasion to handle them more at large.
 First consider the goodnesse of your cause, of which I neede
 not much dispute, for it will maintayne it selfe in the end.
 A better cause there can not be then Gods right, and mans
 right. All Gods people (that have scanned it) are perswaded of
 the equitie of it, which shall one day manifest it selfe as cleere
 as the Sunne shine at noon day. This was it that maintayned
 Davids hope; for as he often commends the goodnesse of his
 cause to God; so he bringeth in his hope much depending
 on the goodnesse thereof; *Iudge me o God, and plead my cause*
Psal. 43. 1. against an ungodly nation and unmercifull: In consideration
 whereof he checkes his drouping soule, and awaketh it up
 to waite upon God; waite hopefully for God; for yet I shall con-
 fesse him. Where observe, as he maketh hope his Anchor; so
 the goodnesse of his cause is the cable that he rideth by.
Bernard hath a pretty saying to this effect; if the cause of the
 warre

πολλοι
 επιδες
 φευδαν
 αλογος
 βροτους
 Ευριπιδ.

Warre be good (saith he) the end of the warre can never be evill; howsoever for many causes it may be long first, and may be much at under in the meane time; neither can a good end (saith he) come of an evill cause.

Si bona fuerit causa pugnae, exitus malus esse non poterit: nec bonus indicabitur finis, ubi causa non est bona.
Serm. ad milites Templi. cap. 1.

A second ground may be taken from the nature of hope it selfe, which is to maintayne a man when all other things faile; this sweeteneth and replenisheth the labour of the husbandman, it comforteth the marriner, when he seeth no land, releeveth the patient, when the phisition hath giuen him over, and enlargeth the heart of the captive, in the darkest prison. This sustained David in all his troubles: David acknowledged that he had fainted if this had not beene: *I had fainted except I had beleevd to see the goodnesse of God in the land of the living.* Where, by the land of the living, he meant even this world wherein men live, and in particular that land of Canaan, the seate of Gods Church. This so supported Job, that he would trust in God though he would kill him. This was all that Alexander reserved to himselfe. This is pictured like a beautifull virgin, for the continuall beautie and vigor that is in it. It is compared to brasse by the learned, for the durable and impenetrable nature of it. This is it that caryeth us aboue hope; namely, of carnall reason; This is both staffe & lanthorne, when all sight and sence of all secondary means faile; yea this is never higher elevated, then when our State in all mens eyes is at the lowest; yea so low that the blasphemous wicked will not sticke to say, God cannot restore him; or at least God will not restore him. Ambrose giveth a good direction from the nature of hope manifesting it selfe in greatest extremities, we should most of all hope (saith he) in divine helpe, where humane and secundary meanes fayle us: so long as there is life, there is hope; yea if it goe so hard with us that, as Seneca saith; *Wee can hope nothing, yet let us despayre nothing.*

De divinis miserationibus amplius sperandum, cum praesidia humana defecerint.
Hexam. Dū spires spera.

The third ground is from the successe of hope in most desperate cases; therefore it is said of hope, that hope maketh not ashamed. Which phrase is a Hebraisme, denoting unto us

Qui nihil potest sperare desperet nihil.

the certainty of things hoped for, to be accomplished. Where first hee putteth a difference between hope in God, and hope in man, or humane things; the latter proveth no better then a broken reed, by which when a man is deceived, he blusheth at the folly of his confidence: but it is not so with that *hope* that is in God. It likewise meeteth with the worlds misconstruction of Gods cause in distresse, and the miserable case of his people, when they see them deprived of their state, their liues hunted like a Partridg, how they are forsaken of their friends, and made the object of the enemies wrath; then the world flouts them, Gods enemies whet their teeth on them, drunkards sing songs of them, vile Varlets bring them upon the Stage, exposing their names and persons to all manner of contumelies, and open mockery. Is not this shame enough? No, saith the Apostle, all this is nothing: where hope is, all the devils in hell cannot make a man ashamed: for the things hoped for shall not deceiue him.

It is true, that in temporall deliverances, and vindicating his cause from the calumny of the enemy, he hath not promised by this or that particular man; yet it is enough to every particular man set a work, that hee will doe it by him or another: and why not by him as well as by another? Let him waite on therefore, it is enough that the Lord will doe his work. *Israel said to Ioseph; Behold I dye, but God shall be with you, and bring you againe to the land of your fathers.* Was not *Dauids* case desperate in all mens eyes, and in his own; his hope almost forlorne, his heart sunck in his belly? Yet the object of his hope was made good. *Israels* hope was very low for comming into the promised land; and yet the Lord did not *sayle them in any good thing they hoped for.* I might instance this in *Ioseph*, *Iob*, *Mordecai*, and others. But to bee short, Let us come to our own times. How haue many worthy men out of the sparkes of hope raked up in the ashes, made a braue fire! how

how haue they been lifted up out of the dust; and their horn exalted on a suddain! I will instance but in two or three. *Antonius Grimanius*, by noble prowesse and vertue, rising from one degree to another till hee came to be Procurator for *S. Marke* in *Venice*; but being defeated by the Turke in that Sea-fight at the *Sporades*, through the fault of the Gally-masters, that came not up to the fight: hee was falsly accused to the Senate, brought in chaines to his answer, condemned to banishment, and his greatest enemy *Melchior Trivisan* set up in his place: but having liued in banishment till envy was extinct, by the Senate hee was called back with a publique decree, intimating his integrity and vertue to be the cause of his restitution; and being made one of the Senate, and Procurator, as he was before, he went in a great Embassie to *Francis* of France; and lastly, after the death of *Lauderanns* the Prince, hee was chosen by sway of consent, in his place.

*Integritatis
& virtutis
ergo.*

*Iodinium. in
elog. illustr.
vir.*

One more of *Matthias Hunniades*, the thundering son of a lightening father against the Turke: who being cast in prison by *Vladislaus* King of Hungary and Bohemia, was sent into Bohemia to be executed: *Vladislaus* dyed of a poysoned apple (as it was thought) wherupon by the Hungarians, partly affected with the meire of his father, and hopes of his own valour against the Turke, and partly by the labourious solliciting of his friends, he was chosen King of Hungary; whereof to giue notice they sent messengers with letters, to *Pogibrachius*, King of Bohemia, with whom *Matthias* was prisoner, which hee receiving at supper, presently raised *Matthias* from below where he sate, and set him aboue himselfe; willing him not to be dismayed, for hee had glad and happy tydings for him, which after supper hee would reveale; and so hee did, saluting him King of Hungary, and he gaue him *Katherine* his daughter to wife.

Where first obserue by the way, how absolutely free, an

elective power the Hungarians and Bohemians haue in the choyce of their King, which the said *Matthias* in a great battell, made *Frederick* the Emperour to know. Secondly, it sheweth how strangely it pleaseth God to exalt from the very graue to the thron: for when he looked for nothing, but every houre when he should haue lost his head, he was made head of the people, and had a Crown set on his head: so that the saying of the Wise-man is made good: *out of the prison he commeth to raign; whereas also he that is born in his Kingdom becommeth poore.*

Eccles. 4. 14
Ex carcere
bic ad au-
rea decore
multo cul-
mina transf-
erunt.

From prison some to golden State,
With glory great ascends.

If we look back upon the Romanes, men without hope; yet under such hope as they had, did raise their states from hopelesse ruines to the highest pitch of worldly glory. What strait was *Massinissa*, King of *Numidia* put to? Who for his own right, with sore wounds upon him, was forced to swim a river, having no followers but foure, wherof two were drowned. He lived in a Caue, till his wounds were healed by hearbs; and setting to his work again, some forces being gathered to him, he was encountred again by *Siphax*; and by him overthrown, so that of 6000 there escaped but 70: but at length, by the help of the Romanes, under the conduct of *Scipio Africanus*, he was not onely restored to his own Kingdom, but possessed also the Kingdom of *Siphax*, for his fidelity to the Romanes, who after, lived in great prosperity and Maiesty; having 50 sonnes, he dyed of a good age, namely 100 yeares.

Valer. Max.

After the battle of *Cannas*, the hearts of the Romans were so shaken, that despairing of recovery, they consulted of the forsaking of Italy: whereupon *Publius Scipio* a braue yong Noble, drew his sword, and sware he would kill the first man that refused to take the oath, which he himselfe would take; namely, not to forsake the Commonwealth: So that the rest for fear, and partly for shame, following

lowing him in the oath, stood to it, till they had rayſed their State to incomparable greatneſſe. It was a desperate part in *Lucius Paulus*, the Conſul, at the battell of Cannas, to reject a horſe by *Lentulus* whereon he might haue eſcaped; but he ſcorning to ſuruiue victory, ſate him down (being wounded) on a ſtone, till the enemy came upon him and ſlew him. But *Varro* his Colleague was of another heart, and ſhewed greater conſtancie of hope, in reſeruing his life to further ſervice for his Country, for which the Senate thanked him much, that he did not deſpaire of the Commonwealth.

Idem

I will conclude the point with one inſtance not unworthy our memory; namely, of *Robert le Bruise* King of Scots, whoſe ſtrayts were as many, and caſe as desperate, and calamities as great, as any I reade of; his wife led captiue; his foure brothers, all worthy men, put to death; his whole friends and family partly ſlain, and partly ſpoyled of all they had; and made the ſubject of calamity; himſelfe deprived of great inheritance; yea, of a Crown and Kingdom, and forced ſometimes with one, and ſometime by himſelfe, to liue like a wilde man in the Mountains amongſt the beaſts; and whatſoever he attempted for a long time miſcarried; yet in all his miſery and penury he ſuſtained himſelfe with hope, and as he did not doubt but one day he ſhould be King indeed: So in all his diſtreſſe, he did or ſpake nothing unworthy of a King. He put not hand to himſelfe with *Marcus*, *Brutus*, or *Cato*, he cryed not with *Caſar* when his Companies, and deareſt and neereſt were loſt. His happy ſucceſſe in the end did answer his noble and hopefull expectation: for he was not ſo low, but God exalted him as high. When once he roſe all went with him, victory and glory did ſtill attend him, he was happy in his Iſſue, in his friends, in his ſubjects, in the eſteem of all Nations, and moſt of all in his temperance, equity, and freedome from revenge. In the time of his proſperity, for his providence and

care

care, in peace; and valorous magnanimitie in warre, he might well be called *the father of the country*; yea I thinke verilie and am able to maintaine it, that if he be compared with the best Kings, that wee read of in histories, he shall cary the laurell from them all. The illustrious *Hamilton* enioyeth to this day the honour, and inheritance conferred upon his ancestor (being an Englishman) by that mirror of Princes; the glorie of whose Majestie he maintained, both by word & sword in the court of *Edward* the 2, where he killd one of the *Spencers* for his contumelious opposing of King *Robert* his due deserved praise. As I desire of God that Kings now living would pick a patterne out of him; so my soules desire is, out of my loue to that magnanimious Prince of the foresaid familie, that he would *remember whence he is fallen, and return to doe his first works*; yea, that he may never giue his soule rest, till he wash out with teares the stain of his unadvised service against *Sion*.

If all these will not serve to establish; then take one for all from the booke of God: when good *Mordecai* was upon the verie pinnacle of *Hamans* contempt, just over the gulfe of imminent and inevitable death; his hope maintained him still, and made him stay by it, at the Kings gate, in despite of *Haman*: the issue was answerable above expectation; for he was taken out of the lowest pit, & carried on the wings of the highest honor; but *Haman* his cruell enemy was thrown from the cloudie sphere of his swelling pride, into the bottomles pit of shame, and confusion: so let all the enemies of God secret, or open, perish, and let the horn of those that love *Sion* be exalted.

The fourth ground of your hope is from the enemy with whom you haue to deale; namely, *the beast, the Dragon, and the false Prophet*, whose ruine the Lord of hosts hath vowed and determined. It is a great advantage to know our enemies, but a greater encouragment to know that our enemies are Gods enemies, and God their enemy; so that they

they cannot stand. What your enemies are, and what attempts they shall make, and how certainly, and suddenly they shall fall, it is cleare in the *Revelations*. It is true indeed, you haue monstrous enemies unparaleld by any other; namely, the devill, the Imperiall force, giving the *devill* or *Dragon* for his Armes, and the *Pope* or *Anti-Christ*, whom *Origen* termeth truly; the arrow of the devill, yea and worse, in a manner, then the devill himselfe; whose chiefe instruments be these hellsh furies the *Iesuits*, these shall gather together all the waters of the whore on which shee sitteth: but the Sun-shine of the Lords wrath shall dry them up: her flesh shall be given to be eaten, and shee shall be made naked; her wound shall not be cured; shee shall be burned with fire, shee goeth to utter destruction. And for the more certainty hereof, it is set downe as though it were already done; *It is done, it is fallen, it is fallen, Babilon that great cittie*. I might bring a world of proofes, both from the ancient fathers, from the *Sybills*, from their owne Prophets, and others, that fearfull and finall shall be the fall of *Rome*. That *Roma*, as the *Sybills* say, shalbe *upon a ruin* indeed: but the thing is so cleere to those that haue read any thing, whose eyes God hath not blinded, that to deny it, is both to contradict God and man.

Sagitta diaboli. Hom. 3. in Psal. 38. Imo peior Diabolo. Hom. 8. in Eschb.

Rev. 16. 17 & 18. cap.

It hath beene often to me matter of wonder, above all all other their oppositions of the truth, how they could deny this: but I am perswaded the learned of them, withhold the trueth of God in unrighteousnesse. *Otto Frisingensis* an ancient Author, who lived 1161, speaking of the ruine of *Rome*, as it hath been the head of all both for dominion and sin; so in Gods just judgment it shalbe measured to, as it hath measured to others. I could cite *Hildegard*, *Abbas*, *Ioachim*, *Chrisostom*, *Bernard*, and others; but I rather reserve the larger handling of it to another treatise. *Beda* hath a prettie verse to his purpose:

*Regna ruent Roma, ferro, flammaque fameque,
Romes Kingdome falls, by famine, fire, and sword.*

Tt

Which

Which to referre to the *Gothes* and *Vandalls* were impudencie, since that was long before.

Applica-
tion.

To apply it; lovers of *Rome*, and lookers toward *Rome*, and all that loue to be peddling with it, and under-propping it secretly, looke to it: for the day shall come that they shall cry *alas for it*, and shall perish with it. As for those that see their heart and hand against it by prayer or sword, and hate all communion with it; yea, every patch of it, or garment spotted with the flesh, let them go on and prosper, howsoever it may be, (nay it must be, through fire and water;) yet the day shall be theirs.

There is a *Spanishtified* popish pamphleter, endeavouring to maligne the State of the *Vnited Provinces* (erected & maintayned by the finger of God) who disswadeth all men from the maintenance, protection, and partaking of, and with the *Hollanders*, and that by sundrie calumnious *idlements*, rather then *arguments*. He draweth one from the fatall end of all such as haue undertaken that businesse, beginning with *Monsieur de Lemmay*, and ending with the late *Queene Elizabeth* of happy memory, aspersing like a blacke mouthed Cur, as much he can, the life and death of a famous nursing mother of vertue and religion; giving up also his virulent gorge upon that rightlie renoumed *Prince of Orange*. To which I answer; First, that as unnaturall and violent death, doth not alwayes argue an euill life; so it doth not prejudice the goodnes of the action in hand, and therefore he is a greater calumniator then argumentator: againe if this without further limitation be a good argument, then all men haue reason to forsake the maintenance of *Babel*, whereof he is a brat: for who haue led such monstrous lives, and made such prodigious ends, as the maintayners thereof? yea I shall be able to prove punctually, that never a man that hath put his hand to the maintenance of that *Babylonish altar* (carry it as cleanly as he could) but the Lord set *Ieroboams* marke upon him, in one kind or other: but that I refer to another treatise. To the

the partie himfelfe, I will fay no more now, but that by way of *retortion* which he putteth upon *Sir Ralfe Winwod*; namely, *if he had been as good an Englishman, as a Hollander*; the *Cautionarie Townes* had not been releafed: fo, had he been as good an Englishman, as he is an arrant traytor, and a spaniolized fycophant, he had never profaned with aspercion the afhes of his native Sovereaigne; nor presumed to fuggest false matter of iealoufie againft the King of *Bohemia*.

The affaires of Holland. pag. 71.

The laft ground of hope (or rather the firft, though I put it in the laft place) is the love of *God in Chrift Iefus*. This is the procatartick caufe of hope; this is the ground wheron the *Anchor* is caft: where this is there muft be hope, and where hope is, there is both helpe and affured good fucceffe. *Spei bona prestat op̃.* *Rom. 5. 5.* Hope maketh not afhamed, faith the Apostle: *because the love of God is fhed abroad in our hearts*. This is a good ground indeed, this will never let the *Anchor* come home: all the other grounds are made good to your Majesties; *your faith, and the spirit muft make good this to your foules*, which is the ground of grounds. Without this, all the other are nothing; as the Apostle faith; *neither circumcifion, nor uncircumcifion* *Gal. 5. 6.* *prevayleth any thing, but the new creature in Chrift Iefus*: fo neither a good caufe, nor the nature of hope, nor experience of helpe, nor the wickedneffe of their enemy, will doe any good without this main good, *the affurance of Gods love*.

So long as men walk (faith the Prophet *Jeremy*) after their own devices, and doe the imagination of their evill hearts; fo long they fay, and can fay no other, *that there is no hope*: What hope can thefe men haue of good fucceffe to their courses, or to fee the face of God with comfort, that crofseth God, and themfelves, and his people, in all their courses: God shewes what came of *Zedechiah* his hopes; *Shall he fcape* (faith the Lord) *that doth fuch things? Or shall he break the covenant and be delivered?* All Gods people this Summer *haue refreshed themfelves with the hope of the English Par-* *Ezech. 17. 19.*

liament; but except they make sure Gods favour by the zeale of his glory, the amendment of life, and the removing of the plagues of the Common wealth, and expulsion of the Canaanites: I fear our Parliamentary hopes proue the failing of our hearts, or at the best, they be but like
 “ odors, they refresh a little, but they doe not feed.

“ Therefore let me not be thought too bold in intreating
 “ your Maiesties, and all the sonnes of hope, again and again;
 “ to make sure this loue unto you, and that not onely for the
 “ eternall good of you and yours, but even for the glory of
 “ God; for the weale you wish to Zion, for the hatred you
 “ beare to Gods enemies, and for your desire of Babels fall;
 “ get but the first and all the rest will follow; a sure evidence
 “ wherof is newnesse of nature and life: *If any man be in*
 2 Cor. 5. 17 “ *Christ he is a new creature*; then be renewed in the spirit of
 “ your mind, and get a new soule, new body, new apparell,
 “ new armour, new language, a new house, and all new;
 “ and without doubt, for old injuries and contumelies, you
 “ shall haue new words of courage, with meanes unlooked
 “ for to redresse your wrongs: For the rayling of the vile and
 “ wicked, you shall haue the new praises of the Saints: for
 “ your old *fail-friends*, you shall haue such new ones as will
 “ never faile you: And lastly, for your old defeats and over-
 “ throws, you shall triumph in new victories: so be you new;
 “ and all the old things shall passe away, yea all things shall
 “ become new. The Lord will not doe his own that good
 “ they desire, untill hee make them good; because if hee
 “ should, they should get no good but hurt by it. The Lord
 “ tels Iuda, *that they should bear the punishment of their iniquity*;
 “ but why? *That they may goe no more astray from me* (saith the
 “ Lord) *neither be polluted any more with their transgressions*,
 Ezr. 14. 10 “ *but that they may be my people, and I may be their God*. I cite
 “ the place, because it is worth your observing. I presume
 “ to presse this petition upon your Majesties; because
 “ I take you to be of the generous mind of *Augustus*, who
 loved

loved plainnesse so well, that he much lamented the death of his servant *Barus*, who would ever tell the Emperour his Master, the truth. A rare Jewell indeed, and a truly princely mind that made so much of him. It was a good saying of *Hierome* of *Sicilie*, that none that spake freely to him, did importune him, or was unseasonable to him. So I hope this free and plain speech, concerning so good and necessary a duty, will not be unwelcome to your Highnesses.

*Senec. lib. 6
de Benef.
cap. 30.*

The last point of the conquereds carriage, consisteth in action: patience without hope is *apoplectick*, and hope without action *paralitick*. *Charles* the wise, came rather to the ruines of an estate, then to the state of a Kingdom; yet under hope he so laboured, and that with good and happy successe, that he repaired his ruines, beyond all expectation, so that for his wisdom and industry, hee might well be called, *the restorer of the Country*. The like industry wee may see in *Francis*: In his captivity hee carryed himselfe prince-like and patiently; yet he neglected not the working out of his deliverance, and that upon good terms, whereat that old Fox, the Chancellour of Spain, was much offended, insomuch that he would not seale to the conditions. The like I might instance in *David*, who in the very depth of his troubles, never ceased with prayer, to use the secondary means, untill at last he saw, that which he hoped for, namely, the goodnesse of God in the land of the living. Nothing is too hard for labour; for it overcommeth every thing, and without it we haue no promise of good successe. One faith well, *God helpeth industry*. That which the Heathens fondly said of fortune (because they knew no better) may fitly be said of God; *When we pray to God, let us put to our hand*. *Socrates* had wont to say; *As a woman cannot conceive without a man; so the best hope can bring forth no good, without labour*. It is true indeed that the Psalmist saith, *If Iehovah build not the house, in vain doe the builders thereof labour ther-*

*Action
with all
the for-
mer ne-
cessary.*

*Industria
adjuvat
Deus.
Spes bona
absque la-
bore, nihil
utile parit.
Stob. Ser.
119.*

es. 127. 1. 2 in; if Iehovah keep not the Citie, in vain doth the keeper watch:

But it is as true by the Text, that we must both watch, and build, else God will not watch over us, nor build for us. Democritus was asked by one, what an industrious man did differ from a sluggard; he answered, *as much as the godly differ from the ungodly*, (namely) *in hope*, intimating thereby that Sluggards can have no hope: because they will not labour. Then once againe, gracious Sir, *fix your hope; to hope add diligence*; abandon sloath, cashier trifles and Triflers, as unworthy of your person; and unfit your estate and condition; be either doing or devising things worthy of a King, for you have many lookers on: as industry is good for the body, and good for the soule; so negligence is naught for both: standing water is quickly corrupt, especially in an evill aire. In a word, as diligence overcommeth all, so lazinesse undoeth all. As the sweet Rose groweth out of the sharpe prickles; so shall sweetest fruits grow out of your bitter labours. It was a good resolution of that King, and a fit president for the wise to follow; If he overcame, he carryed himselfe, as though the next day he might be overcome; but if hee were overcome, hee set himselfe to it againe in hope for to overcome.

Is seu victor erat, tum crastina bella timebat:

Is seu victus erat, tum crastina bella parabat.

Cast your eyes upon the indefatigable labours of the Worthies, as on David, Iosiah, Iosua; and others, as Vespasian, Charles the Great, Maximilian, together with their happy successe, and they shall lead you on, both to the like labours, and like successe. Feare not, nor faint not, but continue to the end, and without doubt you shall see your desire upon your enemies, to your glory and their shame.

All that loves Zion, would gladly see our Parliament in this predicament of action; all predicaments without this are

are no better then bare *predicables*, or secondary notions: if men must be doing; even when they are almost undone; it is supine negligence for men not to doe, to keep themselves and theirs; yea, and the whole State from being undone: *It is easier indeed* (as a father saith) *to say, then to doe*: but (as another saith) *saying without doing is but a lame*; yea, a lost labour; and therefore he commends highly Basil the Great, that hee was ever as furtherly with his work, as with his word. This is Princely indeed; for as we are all born (as Tully saith) *to doe*, so they especially who are of high place and authority. To say much and doe nothing, doth not relish of the English wit nor worth; whose noble ancestors for *doing*, haue been too plague fellowes, and enemies of State, terrible as an Army of Banners: It hath often been to me a matter of wonder how our Ancestors, with so little or no light at all, dispatched more work in a week, then we in a year; of which I conceiue (with submission of my iudgement) these to bee the reasons. They presumed of the work done; and made the honour of their house, and the glory of their name, the height of their ambition: but we in greater light, know that the *work done* wil not serue; and as for the assurance of Gods loue (which should put confidence in our hearts, and courage in our actions) but a few labour for it, and this is the *death of action*: and they with whom Gods honour is not in the highest esteem, never make a true account of their own honour: Besides this, our ancestors had not such hellish pates, and hollow hearts to deale with, as our Senate hath. I wish they may work while they haue light, for when the night commeth they cannot work if they would; as I haue often shewed *occasion to be the soule of action*, so when action looseth breath, the soule departs, and returns no more. They want no lawes for their warrant, nor patterns for their practise, nor wit to apply them: Let them up then and doe it, and God will be with them: Shall the fear of Forraigns freeze the waters of our coun-

*Dicere quidem est facile, agere autem difficile. Christi-
sost. homil. 2. ad Thess.
Sermo ab actione re-
motus, res imperfecta.
Naziens. de Basil. Mag-
orab. 20.
Ad agendis
nati. lib. 3.
de finib.*

counsell, and never a fire of zeale; nor even down rain of courage, to thaw or dissolue them? Shall the prophane oppose piety, and maintain ungodlinesse, and never a *Nehemiah* to take an order with them? Shall Snakes eate out the belly of the Common-wealth, and still be kept alive in our bosoms? Shall the eye of our high and honourable Senate be dimmed, or dazeled with a white Rochet? Shall, by him the Scepter of Christ be trampled under foot, to the casting away of foules, and his foule not pay for it? Let me speak freely, let them take heed how they let *Benhadad*, (that is, *men committed to their keeping*) goe, lest the liues of them and us, goe for their liues, whom the Lord hath appointed, either to destroy us, or to be destroyed. Shall a two faced *Ianus*, or a man with a heart and a heart, dance in a net, or go masked, and no body see him, nor unmaske him. I hope they will pardon my freedom of speech; for my boldnesse is no more then my fidelity, loue and service bindes me to. The fire of sinne flames through all the land; and the fire of judgement is kindled in every corner, except some bestir themselues to quench it, we shall all be consumed. The Lord giue resolution and action, to those that are in place, to arise for Sion; for be they sure if they sit still, *deliverance shall come to Zion another way*, but they and theirs shall pay for it. As for the Hollander, I hope he will be still in action; but I would haue him to do as much for God, as he doth for himselfe; and as much against sin, as he doth against the enemy, for that is the way to undoe the enemy: It were better for them to be cast in the mould by a plaine and round dealing ministry, then to be battered by the Popes *four corned Canoniers*; or the Arminians *sacred minions*, the Prelates: These be Hawkes of prey, wherewith the Princessse of *Parma* and *Granvil*, thought to haue seized upon them in the beginning of their troubles; and they haue ever and anone been threatned with them since: Let them leaue off provoking God, lest they be plagued with them,

as others of their neighbours be; and let them take heed of that *Romish Dictatorship of constant Moderation*; which is the next step to Imperious Hierarchy.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of the end of Warre.

NOW I come to the very last point; concerning the end of war, which I have reserved to the end of the Treatise, and will shut it up in a word or two: For a great book is called, *a great evill*. The end of it is Gods glory, peace and publique good: Evill ends may undoe good causes, annihilate good means, and frustrate the most probable expectations. *Iehu* had a good cause, and used lawfull means, but his end was naught, and that marred all to him. It is true the worke of the Lord was done; but no thanks to him, who in seeking of his own ends, made his own work the main work, and the Lords the by-work. The end (as the Philosopher saith) is the speciall good of a thing: Private ends in warre are the greatest enemies of the publique good:

----- fuit hac sapientia quondam

Publica privatis, secernere sacra profanis.

It was the wisdome once for to perferre,

Publique to private, sacred to profane.

Salust hath a pretty rule for the ordering of mens affections in military courses: Thou maist bring a great deale of good (saith he) to the Country, to the State, to thy selfe and family; to all those that haue any correspondency with thee, if thou remove desire of money, or at least, let it not haue dominion over thee,

μεγα βε

βλιον, με

γα κακον.

παρεργον

εργον κα

εργον πα

εργον.

Maxim bo

num est fi

nis, quan

quod non

est finis.

Arist. lib.

Rhet. cap. 2.

Horat. in

Arte.

Si studium

pecunie sus

tuleris, aut

quo ad res

feres minu

eris.

Orat. 2. de

Ordin.

Reip.

I am here occasioned to direct my speech, once more, to the Lords of the United Provinces; that as publique good is the end of their war maintained; so in raising means for the maintenance of warre, they would prefer the publick good to the private; which is not observed (as I think) in the still increasing of excize upon *virtualls*; for this course injureth a many; as Commons, Tradesmen, Travellers, yea, and the souldiers, whose blood maintains the war, and the private profite redoundeth to a handfull; so great ones saving their purses by this disproportionable dealing, they, who haue least, and labour most; they haue often the most eaters, and payes most. Methinkes a Geometricall proportion were a great deale juster, then an Arithmetickall; and that the strongest horse should carry the heaviest load. I speake plainly, and out of loue to the State, which many waies may be hurt by this inequality. By-respect and sinister intent, is like a strange fire, which blows up the work, and brings vengeance on the Workman: it a close kind of hypocrisie, and therefore the Lord will certainly plague it: instance that requitall of *Iehu* his pretended zeal in the destroying of the house of *Ahab*. First, it was the Lords own work, and *Iehu* had his warrant for it in the 2 of the *Kings*; *ch. 9. v. 7. Thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master, &c.* In the second place obserue his great show of zeal, and ostentation of uprightnesse of heart in the execution of it: *Come see* (saith he, to *Iehonadab*) *my Zeale for the Lord*: but selfe-respect marred all; for he wrought for himselfe, and not for God; he looked more at the Kingdom, then Gods command; and therefore he who saw the thoughts, and holownesse of his heart, requites him in his kind, *Hee avenged the blood of Iezrel upon the house of Iehu*, *Hos. 1. 4.* They who now and then can affoord their hand and tongue, to lend Gods cause a lift for their own advantage, will discover themselues when their own ends are served; yea, God will *uncase* them, walk as closely as they can. As I often cast mine eyes

eyes upon the over-crowded estate or defaced beauty of the Scottish Church, I was occasioned to call to mind, the prompt indeavour of the great Ones, to ruin *Babel*, and to rear up *Ierusalem*: It was a good work indeed, if it were well done; but as they made the Ministers coat too short, & their own too side, so I fear, that the sweetness that they found in *Gods bread*, (as one called it) and *Babels spoyle*, made them stand so stoutly to it; but these being raked out of their budgets by the *long-necked-crains*, that are come from the *Egyptian-lake*, the most of them, looks upon the cause now as though they had lost their purses. And last of all, to give a touch upon our English Plantators in Virginia, I advise them especially to examine the ends and the means; for all knows the issue is worse and worse, and like to prove starke naughts: therefore both the end and the means stands need of rectifying.

The Lord himselfe giveth a good direction to this same effect, *that such as had planted vineyards and married wives*, they should not goe to War; the reason is given, because the thoughts and cares of these things should not intangle them, and hinder them from fighting of the Lords battells in the field, by leaving their hearts at home; *No man that warreth intangleth himselfe with the affaires of this life, that he may please* ^{2 Tim. 2.4} *him who hath chosen him for a souldier.*

As the speciall end of War is peace, (so as *Tully* saith) War ^{*Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur, l. 1.*} must be so taken in hand, that it may appeare that nothing is so much sought for as peace. It is true as the same Author hath it, when necessitie requireth (as I said) that men must fight, and prefer death it selfe to slavery or basenesse. And this was the end and ayme I am perswaded of his Majestie, to preserve in peace, the people of God, and the practise of religion, as appeareth both by his declaration, and his omitting to take his enemies at advantage in the beginning, for which they have given him a cruell requitall; yet as his ground was good, so his end was good. Let them talk of peace what they will, they

they haue no such end, except they giue all the conditions, and then that peace is no better then slavery. Look but to the Spanish practise: *Is he not like a Moule once in, never out, if he can chuse?* And if the fox be unkennelled, he leaueth ever an euill smell behind him, yea, and litters of cobs that pester the Nation: or he is like the *Winding-Toye*, which sheweth a naturall appetite to help it selfe by cleaving to other things, but it undoes all other things wherunto it cleaveth. *Great Brittain had best look to her Vine.* Private gain and by-respect was one of the three Romish plagues, I pray God rid our land of it.

Thus far I haue ingaged my poor labours in the troublesome warr of this present time: desiring God, who sitteth aboue as Iudge and Moderator of all mens actions, and seeth and heares the teares and prayers of his distressed people,

that he would awake us all to repentance; fi-

nish the afflictions of his children; and

fling the rod in the fire:

A M E N.

23 AP 57

Errata.

LET me intreat thee (courteous Reader) to bear with errors from the presse, as some literall faults, defects of Accents, or Points, misplacing, or wanting of a word. Three Greek words in the Margine hath likewise faults in them. In the Epistle to the Reader, pag. 2. line 1. for *treatise*, reade *this treatise*: Pag. 49, Marg. for *alamoniam*, reade, *alimoniam*: *Ibid.* for *virtus* reade *dictus*: pag. 87, l. ult. for *that like*, r. *that it is like*: pag. 139, l. 13, for *ebary*, r. *chair*: pag. 186, l. 20, for *for*, r. *far*: *Ibid.* l. 32, for *180*, r. *11800*: pag. 208, l. 18, for *the better*, r. *to be better*.

FINIS.

